

hold

16 PAGES
IS 600

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

JERUSA

PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

(USPS 424-430)

exp. 86/04
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

NOVEMBER 29, 1985
VOL. VI, NO. 291

Troops Siege Balatta Camp

by Nawaf al-Aidi

Dozens of Palestinians were arrested and their families and homes subject to harassment in Balatta refugee camp November 23.

In a middle-of-the-night raid at 3:00 a.m. Saturday, Israeli soldiers carried out a massive arrest campaign. Israeli military authorities said they were searching for weapons inside the camp. Israel TV reported the same night that an Israeli-made gun was found and kitchen knives and books were confiscated.

Camp residents reported that several cars and busloads of soldiers arrived at the camp and laid siege to it. The soldiers closed off the camp, trapping the estimated 12,000 residents inside.

The soldiers erected six tents near the camp to be used as temporary headquarters. The soldiers, estimated by camp residents at numbering 800, divided into units of 10 each, and dispatched to search the houses one by one.

Al Ittihad Arabic daily, which is published in Haifa, quoted an elderly camp resident as saying that the Israeli army actions reminded him of the British mandate campaigns prior to 1948. Residents described the campaign as the cruelest one they had ever experienced.



Israeli troops turn away a Palestinian outside Balatta refugee camp. The soldiers laid siege to the camp for 24 hours.

Dozens of families reported that they were subject to severe intimidation and harassment during the 24-hour siege. Balatta residents also charged that the soldiers deliberately destroyed furniture, electric appliances and

garden during their eight hour stay in the house. The soldiers also damaged the refrigerator and washing machine. Before leaving, they seized some books which family members said were

The family of Muhammad Saleh Afghani reported that soldiers dug up the floor and walls of their house, as well as the

garden during their eight hour stay in the house. The soldiers also damaged the refrigerator and washing machine. Before leaving, they seized some books which family members said were

Continued on page 4

Muslim Waqf Ban Politics - Religion Mix

The Islamic Trust Authority (Waqf) in the West Bank this week ordered various mosque Imams (preachers) to stop mixing politics and religion.

The order No. 8-5-8/8172 called on preachers to "not politicize religion" and to discuss only religious topics in their Friday sermons. The order was first issued November 13, but was only distributed to the vari-

ous preachers throughout the West Bank a week later.

The order directly follows a similar statement by the Jordanian Waqf made more than 10 days ago. The Jordanian order was an attempt by King Hussein to crack down on the Islamic fundamentalist group the Muslim Brotherhood who have been said to wage attacks against Syria from Jordan. The Jordanian order also follows on the heels of a Syrian-Jordanian rapprochement.

The Waqf in the West Bank is a department in the Jordanian Waqf and some preachers, particularly in the Jerusalem, Nablus and Tulkarm region, have criticized this order as an attempt at intervention on the part of Jordan into religious affairs. They said it was also an attempt to silence their political criticism of both Israel and the Arab regimes, and to maintain and strengthen the Jordanian control over the occupied territories.

The Waqf order obliges preachers to prepare their sermons in advance, to submit them for approval and to deliver them as written. The text of the order is as follows:

"Please notify all speakers and preachers in your district through a written order that they must stick to the Quran and the prophet's sayings. They should not stray from this line. They must abandon the teaching of superstition and stop politicizing religion, restricting themselves only to religious instruction and other aspects of preaching. Friday preachers have to prepare their written sermons and to deliver them as they were written."

Fayez Hazina, director of the Waqf, told Al Fajr that he personally issued the order after he heard about the similar order distributed in Jordan. Hazina explained that preachers must stick to the Quran and the prophet's sayings. He said that

discussing politics in their sermons would only bring troubles.

He said, "The Israeli security authorities often summon the preachers to interrogate them on their sermons. If a preacher denies having said something, the authorities may play his sermon back on a tape."

Al Fajr spoke with a Jerusalem preacher who asked not to be identified. He said, "The order is a new step as part of Jordanian attempts to control the West Bank and to silence the opposition against all regimes in the Islamic world." The Waqf employees went on to say that "Jordanian authorities plan to make Islam a monopoly for the sultan's clergy who explains religion according to the interests of the rulers."

The young preacher said that the difference between the Jordanian government and the Muslim Brotherhood is not very

Continued on page 4

December 2nd Boycott Day

All Palestinians in the occupied territories are being urged to boycott Israeli-made products and to purchase, instead, only local goods.

The call for a boycott on the first Monday of every month was issued by the Palestinian Center of the Study of Nonviolence in Jerusalem. The center distributed a leaflet to West Bank and Gaza residents this week urging them to begin thinking about economic independence.

PCSN intends to implement the boycott beginning Monday, December 2.

The Israeli daily Hadaashot ran a story November 22 on the subject. It said that the center for the study of nonviolence called on Pal-

estines to "boycott Israeli goods as a degree of self-confidence, who believe in the fruits of the land... and who live on the Palestinian soil to stop buying Israeli-made goods on the first Monday of each month as a first step to encounter the occupation."

Dr. Mubarak Awad, director of the center told Al Fajr, "We want Palestinians to start thinking about themselves. They must not remain forever dependent on Israeli products. They must realize the effects of life under occupation."

Awad, who plans to use nonviolent methods to defy the Israeli occupation, said, "On this day, I will not drink or eat anything made by Israelis. I encourage people to do the same."

Awad, who has published several studies on nonviolence, also plans to distribute

Continued on page 13

قائمة المنتجات التي يجب تجنبها

المنتجات الإسرائيلية

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

التي يجب تجنبها

Youth Says Confession Phony 13-Year-Old To Face Military Court

Thirteen-year-old Ayman Abu Arab will be tried in an Israeli military court on the basis of a confession he says he never made. He is faced with a maximum prison sentence of six months.

Ayman and 24 other teenagers from the Ramallah, al-Bireh area were arrested in mid-October and are currently being held in Ramallah Prison. They are scheduled to appear before a military court expected to convene sometime next month. The teenagers are all pupils at UNRWA and public schools in the area. All are juveniles, aged 13 to 14, and are charged with throwing stones and Molotov cocktails at Israeli settlers and soldiers. According to the practice of Israeli military courts, children aged 12 to 14 can be imprisoned for up to six months and/or fined.

Jerusalem lawyer Ahmad Nazzari, who represents Ayman and 13-year-old Iyad Tarifi, tried last week to get the two released

on bail. A Ramallah military judge refused. Both teenagers have denied charges that they threw cocktail bombs at Israeli soldiers. When lawyer Nazzari showed Ayman a confession sheet with his signature on it, Ayman reportedly explained that he did sign it thinking it was something else. He said the Israeli interrogators told him it was a release form he had to sign before being released. The form was written in Hebrew which Ayman cannot read.

The fact that Ayman was held on the basis of what he says is a phony confession apparently did not dissuade the military judge from refusing to release him on bail. According to lawyer Nazzari, the judge seemed "not the least bit interested" in hearing the advocate's claim of military foulplay.

In the past, claims by lawyers that their clients were made to sign pre-formulated confessions under pressure of torture

or deceit passed unheeded by military courts. Earlier last month, five Palestinians from the Galilee were given double life sentences plus seven years for allegedly killing an Israeli in Haifa in 1983. The men maintained that they were innocent and that they were made to sign confessions after they were tortured by Israeli police interrogators.

Thirteen-year-old Iyad Tarifi of al-Bireh was arrested along with Ayman. He may face the same fate. This is the second time in a year that he was arrested and detained. Last December, he served a two-and-a-half month sentence in Ramallah Prison after he was charged with preparing Molotov cocktails. A source close to his family told *Al Fajr* that Iyad has been harassed by Israeli soldiers on several occasions and for no apparent reason other than that "they have his name in their prison files."

Arab Dailies Seized in Dawn Confiscation

Israeli military authorities confiscated and later returned bundles of all four West Bank newspaper dailies November 28, before they were distributed for sale. No reasons were given for the action.

Sources in *Al Quds*, *Al Fajr*, *Al Sha'ab* and *Al Mithaq* dailies said that the bundles were confiscated at two military checkpoints on the road between Jerusalem and Ramallah which leads to the northern part of the West Bank. They were also confiscated on the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road which leads to the southern region. The checkpoints were apparently set up specifically for the purpose of intercepting the papers which are usually transported in separate cars around dawn.

Newspaper sources said they do not know the reasons

for the confiscation. *Al Fajr's* Hebron distributor, however, said he was contacted by the Israeli military governor's liaison officer on the previous night and instructed not to distribute the paper the next morning. The distributor, Fawzi al-Shwaiki, said no reasons were given for the warning.

Al Quds newspaper was the first to retrieve their papers.

The papers have been confiscated in a similar manner on several occasions. The confiscations usually have been carried out during times of protest in order to impose a blackout on certain news events. The last time papers were confiscated was during last May's prisoner-exchange between the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command and Israel.

PLO Calls Factions to Unity

After a 48-hour discussion in Baghdad, the Palestinian Central Council called all PLO factions November 25 to an urgent meeting for the restoration of Palestinian unity.

The Palestinian Central Council is one of the three top leadership bodies in the PLO. It implements the PNC resolutions. The PCC rejected UN Resolutions 242 and 338 by themselves but accepted all of the UN resolutions, in a package deal. The Central Council's statement also backed PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's Cairo Declaration which condemned violent actions outside the occupied territories. The other articles of the statement condemned the Israeli air raid on PLO headquarters in Tunis and the US piracy of the Egyptian plane carrying the *Achille Lauro* hijackers.

The PCC statement vowed to continue supporting residents

of the occupied territories, and urged Palestinians in Lebanon to cooperate with all national, Islamic and progressive forces to defeat the conspiracies against both the Lebanese and Palestinian people.

The Palestinian Central Council demanded the Central Committee make contacts with other Palestinian factions to arrange for a meeting. The meeting's agenda could include any topic which is discussed in a democratic manner.

The call for national unity, which was regarded as the most important decision taken by the PCC, came as a result of the lack of progress in efforts to start peace negotiations. Some political analysts close to the PLO asserted that the PLO leadership wants to keep their options open.

Other articles called for Arab solidarity and a united

front to reinforce the international Arab stand. The PCC also called for an end to the Iraq-Iran war and reiterated its support for the Amman agreement and the Arab summit.

The PCC call for unity was welcomed by *Al Fajr*, *Al Sha'ab*, and *Al Quds* local dailies. *Al Mithaq* daily and *Al Talia* weekly, however, expressed skepticism at the genuineness of the call. In a front page article on the meetings, the left-wing *Al Talia* weekly said that the PCC called for talks without pre-conditions, but it set conditions when it inferred dealing with the PLO Executive Committee members who were elected in the controversial 17th Palestine National Council last November 1984. The 17th PNC was boycotted by eight Palestinian factions. Three factions, including the largest Palestinian faction Fatah, took part in it.

In Ain al-Hilweh PLO Commandos Execute Four Collaborators

A Palestinian commando unit in South Lebanon's Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp tried and executed four Palestinians found guilty of collaborating with Israeli troops during the Lebanon war and of complicity in the murder of four Fatah fighters last spring.

The unit, thought to belong to the general security forces in the camp of 26,000, carried out the executions November 27 and later issued a communique in which they warned that the same fate will face all those who "betray the principles of the revolution." The communique said "Let it be known to collaborators with the enemy that the arm of the revolution will reach them sooner or later." Ten other Palestinians were reportedly captured a week after the murder of the four Fatah commandos near Sidon earlier this month.

In other developments, two Israeli soldiers were injured when a roadside bomb exploded near a

three-car convoy passing near Beit Yehon village in south Lebanon November 25. The two men sustained minor injuries but one required hospitalization. Soon after the explosion, a large Israeli force combed the area in search of a group of Lebanese commandos thought to have planted the bomb. Israelis blame the same unit for the injuries of two other Israeli soldiers attacked with light weaponry a week earlier.

In Beirut, meanwhile, the battle waged between clashing factions was reported to have eased somewhat after several days of fierce fighting. Over 60 persons were reported killed and 200 injured in the clash between Amal forces and the Progressive Socialist Party militia. In response to the fighting, Syria reportedly dispatched an additional 150 military observers to ease the tension between the factions. A 26-man observation unit has been based in Beirut's Muslim sector since June.

Settler Attacked in Jerusalem

A large force of Israeli soldiers closed off the *Via Dolorosa* (the way of the cross) in Jerusalem's Old City November 25 and arrested scores of Palestinian residents. This followed another attack — the third this month — on an Israeli in the area.

Baruch Jan, 32, sustained only slight scratches on his face as a result of a struggle with an unidentified attacker. The attacker came at Jan, an Israeli settler from the Gilo settlement near Bethlehem, and apparently tried to stab him. Jan, a guide with the Society for the Protection of Nature, struggled with the attacker who then managed to get away. Jan then pulled a gun and opened fire at the at-

tacker but did not manage to hit him.

The incident was the third stabbing attempt this month in Jerusalem's Old City. In the first attack, a middle-aged religious Jew was stabbed near Damascus Gate. The second attack against a former Israeli army tank driver in his early 20s occurred in the same area. Both men required emergency hospitalization.

Immediately after the stabbing attempt of the Gilo settler, Palestinian shopkeepers all along the *Via Dolorosa* closed their stores. During the subsequent search of the area, the Israeli soldiers reported they found a kitchen knife they believed was used in the attack. Both of the earlier stabbings were done with kitchen knives.

In response to the attack, some 40 followers of Meir Kahane, the leader of the extremist Kach movement, gathered and performed prayers at the Damascus Gate. MK Yashu's Mansa sent a letter to Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin demanding the closure of shops in the area of the attack. He suggested the move would help to pressure the shopkeepers into cooperating with Israeli authorities in finding and arresting the attacker.

Israeli sources report that authorities believe the attacks may have been carried out by different persons, although they are not ruling out the possibility of there being a single attacker in all three incidents.



Lebanese fighters demonstrating 'Russian roulette' which they call the "Game of Death". Last week two fighters died while attempting to win a bet reaching up to 50,000 Lebanese pounds (US\$2800).



Gershon Solomon and Kahane at an earlier demonstration in attempt to pray at al-Aqsa.

Police Won't Stop Jewish Prayers at Al-Aqsa

Muslim religious authorities in Jerusalem were up in arms earlier this week over a statement by a senior Israeli police official in which he said his force will not prevent Jewish fundamentalists from holding prayer ceremonies at al-Aqsa Mosque, the third holiest site in Islam.

The Israeli police commander of the Jerusalem region told an Israeli parliamentary committee on November 19 that if Jews wanted to pray at the Muslim site and proved that they wanted to do so quietly, the police would not prevent them from doing so. This sent shockwaves through Jerusalem's Muslim community who view al-Aqsa compound as the site from which Prophet Muhammad ascended to heaven and received God's commandments. Israeli police have in the past cooperated with them to guard the site against vigilante attempts by Jewish zealots.

Jerusalem's Islamic authorities promptly sent protest cables to Israeli police officials and to foreign consulates in which they said they planned to do "whatever possible" to quell attempts by Jews to pray at al-Aqsa Mosque. Head of the Islamic Higher Committee, Sheikh Sa'ed al-Din al-Alami told *Al Fajr* that he considered holding prayer ceremonies by non-Muslims at the holy site a desecration of the site. He believed such observances should be prevented "at any cost." He added that Muslim guards at the compound have strict instructions to prevent non-Muslim prayers there "by all means."

Jewish fundamentalists who regard the site as the remains of the second temple have since 1967 attempted to get official blessing to hold prayer ceremonies there. Muslim guards at the site are known to face frequent attempts by Jews to pray at the site. According to an

agreement between the Muslim authorities and the Israeli police force, Jews are permitted to enter the walled compound but only to tour, not to pray.

Last July several dozen Jewish extremists from the rightist Kach movement and several settler groups attempted to enter the compound by force with the declared intention of praying there. A large police force was summoned to prevent a clash between the Jewish zealots and the Muslim guards. One man managed to enter the compound and was caught praying at a side wall of the mosque and had to be driven out by force.

Sheikh Sa'ed al-Din al-Alami told *Al Fajr* that he welcomed police cooperation with the Muslim guards to prevent desecration of the compound, but that "only Muslims have the right" to pray there. "Israeli police cannot claim authority over the holy site," he said.

French Demand Detainees Release

Five French doctors who examined the medical record of Dr. Azmi Shu'aibi, member of al-Bireh municipal council who is ill with tuberculosis and slated for deportation, appealed to the Israeli authorities November 20 to rescind their expulsion decision, and release him immediately.

The appeal is part of an escalating international campaign against the Israeli authorities' intention to deport four West Bank and Gaza men. Journalist Hassan Abd al-Jawad from Dheisheh Refugee Camp near Bethlehem, unionist Ali Abu Hilal from Abu Dis village near Jerusalem and Dr. Azmi Shu'aibi of al-Bireh are now being held at the Nablus Military Prison. The fourth detainee — freed political prisoner Zaki Abu Staleh of

Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip — is being held at the Gaza Prison. They are all awaiting the result of an Israeli High Court appeal against their deportation orders.

In a telegram to Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres earlier in the week, the five French physicians said they believe that their "Palestinian comrade in the occupied territories, Dr. Azmi Shu'aibi, is actually being detained and under the threat of deportation by the Israeli authorities because of his political activity. Outside of all political considerations and in the name of a certain medical ethic and taking into consideration the fact that Dr. Shu'aibi, who is actually on cortisone, was examined by specialists at Hadassah Hospital

for his severe case of sarcoidosis, the undersigned demand the Israeli authorities free their comrade and cancel the deportation order against him."

Meanwhile, a Greek physician, Dr. Keryakos Kaytes, arrived last week in Jerusalem to examine Dr. Shu'aibi. The Israeli authorities, however, prevented him from doing so.

Advocate Felicia Langer received a memo signed by 14 members of parliament in Finland representing the Socialist Democratic Party, the Democratic Finland League, the Green Party, the Independent Party, the Center Party and the Agricultural Party. The MPs called on the Israeli government to cancel the deportation order.

Israel Approves Masri's Control of Nablus Municipality

by Said al-Ghazali

The Israeli 'civil administration' approved November 26 a Nablus Chamber of Commerce plan to take over the city municipality. The actual takeover is expected within the next few weeks.

The Nablus Municipality like most of the municipal councils in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been run by Israeli mayors since 1982 when the elected councils were dismissed. They were dismissed for their refusal to cooperate with the 'civil administration'.

Thafer al-Masri, the head of the CC and soon to be appointed mayor, had announced the controversial move earlier this month when he said that Nablus residents and businessmen had been pressuring him and the Chamber of Commerce to do something about an economic crisis in the community. Al-Masri said the businessmen urged him to take over the municipality in order to provide local leadership. The move sparked a controversy throughout the occupied territories.

The move was viewed by many nationalists as an attempt to deprive Palestinians of their right to hold elections. The Israelis have forbidden elections to replace the dismissed municipal council.

Palestinian figures who opposed the move also said it was an attempt to introduce local rule in the occupied territories. They believe such local rule would then serve the Israeli claim that there are Palestinian leaders other than the PLO with whom to negotiate.

In his meeting with al-Masri, Ephram Sneh, the head of the 'civil administration,' said that the Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and the Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin both approved the plan. Al-Masri, the former deputy mayor of Nablus, told *Al Fajr* that he had demanded they be allowed to hold elections next year and that the

Chamber of Commerce only run the municipal affairs temporarily, but Sneh said that this would be discussed later.

The elected and dismissed mayor Bassam Shaka'a is known to vehemently oppose the plan. He refused to comment to *Al Fajr*, but expressed his strong opposition in other newspapers. Al-Masri said that he tried in vain to reach an agreement with Shaka'a. He said his prime concerns after taking over the municipality would be to hire back all former employees and to regain control over the electricity in the area from the Israeli company.

Yasser Aslam, a former member of the municipal council, told *Al Fajr*, "It would be preferable if the legitimate municipal council returned or if the local institutions cooperated to conduct elections. Otherwise, any move to gain the municipality through appointment is obviously an offense against the principle of elections."

Aslam said that the future will provide us with evidence that this move cannot be separated from its political connotations. Aslam said only businessmen and merchants support the move.

Similarly, Khaldun Abd al-Haq, also a council member, opposed the move saying that, "The Israelis want to find so-called 'moderates' in the occupied territories to negotiate with. This is a real danger. What we see is only a mirage. The only effective measure that Palestinians must take is establishing national unity," he said.

Dr. Hatem Abu Ghazaleh and Burhan Ya'lah, both council members, supported the move. Abu Ghazaleh said, "Thafer and his municipal council must pressure authorities to have new elections. Thafer is a businessman who is far from politics. All Palestinian nationalists must fight to have elections to force Israelis to rescind their decision against the elections."

Burhan Ya'lah said, "Any positive change is acceptable."



Soon-to-be Nablus Mayor Thafer al-Masri (right) shakes hands with 'civil administration' head Ephram Sneh following their agreement over the fate of the Nablus Municipality.

Palestine Bank to File Suit Against Tax Increase

by Baher al-Ashhab

The Bank of Palestine plans to file suit in the Israeli High Court against Israeli Gaza military authorities. The suit is in protest of a recent 50 percent increase in income tax levied on Gaza's troubled business community.

The Israeli military government in Gaza introduced last September the tax increase through an amendment of Article 30 of a 1947 Egyptian tax law. The Gaza Strip was under Egyptian rule until the Israeli occupation in 1967. The amendment, introduced as Military Order No. 894, allowed the military to increase the tax rate from 25 to 37.5 percent of gross income.

Bank officials, operating the only Arab bank in the occupied territories, told *Al Fajr* they are waiting to consider a "few final details" before filing the suit against the Israeli authorities. They expect to do so within the next two weeks.

Bank officials will represent the bank as well as hundreds of Gazan businessmen hurt by the tax increase in their suit. Officials said the businessmen were very upset over the increase but feared Israeli reprisals if they took part in the suit.

The Bank of Palestine is the largest taxpayer in Gaza having paid more than 128,000 Egyptian pounds (close to the same value in US dollars) in the last fiscal year alone. The Bank also paid some 75,000 pounds in the monthly Value Added Tax (VAT).

Bank officials said they promptly filed a request for a review of the military amendment allowing the tax increase back in September but have not received a reply. "We see an

appeal to the High Court as a final solution to this problem," said one official. He admitted however that the chances of the court ruling in the bank's favor are "dim". According to the Israeli law, only the High Court can overrule a military amendment.

Bank of Palestine legal adviser Khamis Asfour sees the military amendment to the Egyptian tax law as yet another attempt to hamper the bank's operation. Last July, military authorities ordered the bank to abort plans to sell new shares that would have increased its holdings to 1.5 million Egyptian pounds. The bank's holdings currently amount to only a half a million.

Bank officials, believing they were within their rights, decided to proceed with the sale of shares and introduced the new shares into the Gaza and West Bank money markets. However, they were confiscated by the military authorities who ran advertisements in local newspapers warning the Palestinians not to buy the shares. The military threatened to take the bank officials to military court. Lawyer Asfour still believes that the military is "awaiting the right moment to go ahead with the threat," he said.

"They do not wish us to stay operative," Asfour told *Al Fajr*. He said that he believes the military authorities are upset because Gazans have put their money in the Palestinian bank causing seven Israeli banks in Gaza to lose business. Asfour believes this is the motive behind the military prohibition of the bank's opening of other branches in Gaza and the West Bank. Bank officials now operate out of their main headquarters in

Gaza City, but Asfour said they are considering legal action against the military prohibition.

The Bank of Palestine has only been operative for 11 out of its 25 year history. Israeli authorities closed it soon after they occupied Gaza in 1967. It was only reopened four years ago.

Despite the Israeli restrictions, the bank managed to turn a profit for at least the last two years. Over 1050 Palestinian shareholders are currently involved in the bank's operation. Another 3500 benefit from deposits and low interest loans. Prior to the bank's reopening, Gazans were obliged to deal with the Israeli banks. Israeli banks loaned at the rate of 19 percent, while the Palestinian bank offered them at a rate of 12 percent.

The Bank of Israel which acts as a financial adviser to the military authorities in the occupied territories has also imposed its own restrictions on the Palestinian bank. The Israeli bank has reportedly recommended that the military prohibit the Gazan bank from dealing in foreign currency. The bank has been unable to deal with foreign currency since it reopened in 1981. *Al Fajr* has learned that the issue of foreign currency will probably come up if the bank files its suit in the High Court. Bank of Israel officials were unavailable for comment.

Bank of Palestine officials met earlier this month with Bank of Israel representatives but were unable to achieve concrete results. "All we got were the very same empty promises that we have heard over the last four years - 'We'll study the matter. We'll get back to you,' etc.," said Asfour.

obey the Waqf instructions. I praise the person who said 'He who drank from the Sultan's soup, later his lips were burnt.' In discussing his response to the order, the Imam said, "I will not sign this order which obliges me to abandon a pillar of Islam." He quoted the prophet Muhammad who said, "He who sleeps not caring about Muslims is not one of them."

CORRECTION OF ADC REPORT

The news report published on page 2 of issue 289 contained a number of incorrect statements. Officials from ADC have contacted us to indicate that "the FBI did not yet accuse the JDL" in the bomb attack that killed Alex Odeh, but that the pattern of other bombings and threats to ADC lead them to believe that the JDL may have carried out the attack.

ADC officials also have denied that they closed all but one of their offices. "None of the ADC offices have been closed as a result of the bombing, nor do we intend to close any of our offices. ADC will not be intimidated by such threats or terrorist acts," the ADC official said.



Jericho

Jewish Zealots Attempt Jericho Settlement

Saying that they intended to foil any possibility of Israel returning Jericho to Arab rule, a small group of Israeli zealots attempted last week to establish a settlement a few hundred meters north of the city.

The would-be settlers calling themselves the "Faithful of the Land of Israel" attempted to reach the site on three separate occasions but were held back by Israeli soldiers with strict instructions to disband the group. They first drove towards the site in a bus November 22, but were halted at an army roadblock and ordered to turn around. When they resisted, the soldiers took them to an army camp several kilometers away and kept them overnight.

A splinter group of 10 managed to escape, however, and reached a site which they believe to be an ancient Jewish synagogue. An Israeli army patrol traced them, expelling them and arresting two men who resisted.

Two nights later, a group of six zealots drove to the site and attempted to establish camp, but were soon evacuated and ordered to drive back to Jerusalem.

The "Faithful" group leader, Gershon Solomon, reportedly threatened to keep up his attempts to reach and settle Jericho, whose area is currently devoid of Jewish presence. Gershon was quoted in *The Jerusalem Post* November 25 as saying that his group is grievously concerned over the prospects of being returned to

Arab rule if an agreement is struck with Jordan or the Palestinians.

In a separate development, Israeli Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir advised his government November 18 not to prosecute the leaders of the settler organization "The Council for Jewish Settlers" who earlier this month called on Jewish settlers to "disobey" the Israeli government if it decided to return the occupied territories to Arab rule. The Attorney General, who carried out an investigation into the matter, found that the settler leaders had merely "bordered" on having committed a criminal offense. He suggested that the government warn the settlers, but not prosecute them.

The settler leaders issued a statement in November in which they said that the public ought not to obey any government decision to yield control of the occupied territories. "We shall treat any regime in Israel committing any of these crimes as if it was an illegal regime," they said. Fearing a government crackdown on them, the settlers later softened their stance by saying that their call for disobedience was merely philosophical, and not meant to be taken literally. Settler leaders, however, responded to Zamir's findings by saying that they insist on not recognizing any government decision to cede control of the areas, but that they "will not advocate civil disobedience in case such a resolution is passed."

SETTLERS CONFRONT ISRAELI LEFTISTS

A group of anti-occupation Israelis were attacked by armed settlers while in Dheishah refugee camp. The group was paying a solidarity visit to the family of journalist Hassan Abd al-Jawad, now under pending threat of deportation, November 23.

As approximately 50 activists from the recently-formed "Down With Occupation" group were leaving the camp, a number of armed settlers blocked their path, according to the group members. The settlers reportedly shouted at them and tried to hold them there until the police arrived. The leftists managed to get away from the settlers and to their cars. However, one of the

settlers smashed the windshield of one of the cars, reported the group.

A leaflet was distributed by the group in the camp condemning occupation and its oppressive policies. The statement also called for the cancellation of the deportation and administrative detention orders.

Giora Noiman, one of the leaders of the anti-occupation group, told *Al Fajr* that the settler attack "is just part of the terror which they try to display in the area, not only against the Palestinian refugees, but also against anyone who shows solidarity with the plight of the Palestinians."

Waqf

Continued from page 1

great. "The Jordanian government may sacrifice a few members of the Muslim brothers' movement to serve its own interests," he said.

The preacher said that Islam does not differentiate between religion and life, of which politics are a part. "This order aims at cancelling the role of

religion and to confine it to the mosques," he said. The young Imam, who supports the radical liberation Islamic movement begun in the 50s in Jerusalem, said that the response of the mosque speakers would differ in accordance to the degree of their awareness and belief. "The true Muslim will not care for employment. He will remain a true speaker for the sake of God in spite of the limited avenues available."

The Imam added, "Those who prefer the present life would

more than 20 soldiers who raided the house also searched the birdcage killing a number of doves. Jbara said the harassment approached plain meanness when the soldiers mixed rice with sugar and flour before they left with his two sons Muhammad, 21, and Azzam, 17.

Even the camp graveyard was a military target, residents reported. Throughout the day, the soldiers reportedly dug up graves and left many holes in the cemetery.

On the following day, the Israelis summoned camp leaders to the local military headquarters and warned them against any protest activities inside their camp.

Troops

Continued from page 1

literary and arrested 16-year-old Yusef.

The military unit which searched the family house of Abdallah Daoud, a Najah University student held under administrative detention, also took up the tiles of the floor during their search. The soldiers destroyed a wall around the family house of Taysir Nasrallah, another administrative detainee.

At the house of Ibrahim Jbara, soldiers deliberately destroyed the solar water heating system as they searched the rooftop, family members said. The

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (82) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
2 Hatem at-Tase St.
East Jerusalem 91192

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 688638) is published weekly for \$50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 202f I Street, N.W., Suite 92f Washington D.C., 20006.

Politics And Religion Inseparable

Last week, the Muslim Trust Institute Waqf in Jerusalem circulated a memo to all Muslim preachers in the West Bank advising them to refrain from 'politicizing' religion. What the memo meant was that no preacher was allowed to make political statements during sermons in the mosque.

The memo was no more than one paragraph long. It did not explain what 'politicization' meant or exactly what political topics were now taboo. Could it be that the Waqf, the largest leading Palestinian institution in the occupied territories, has now asked its employees to refrain from resisting the occupation in their sermons which reach thousands of Palestinians every Friday? Or is there possibly another explanation for this unwarranted memo?

For an institution endowed with Muslims' most precious possessions in an area where politics is a daily way of life to make such a statement is incomprehensible. Islam does not distinguish between social, political and religious matters. Social and political affairs are discussed in sermons as part of the religious awareness of the worshippers. The Friday prayers put special emphasis on the sermon which should discuss all matters pertaining to Muslim affairs. Therefore, when the Waqf bans preachers from discussing political matters in sermons, it is as if it were banning the whole sermon, or banning Friday prayers altogether.

It is even more absurd when considering the fact that some of the property entrusted to the Waqf — the most valuable of which is al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem — is openly threatened by the Israeli occupiers. Only last week, the same time the memo was being circulated, Israeli officials were saying that Jewish worshippers would be allowed from now on to hold prayers in the Mosque compound.

Such a bold statement by the Israelis is very dangerous considering that Jewish fanatics have been trying hard for 18 years to pray on the Mosque grounds, a step that would lead to their eventual takeover of the Muslims' holiest worship house in the occupied territories. Unfortunately, the Israeli boldness is being met with a surprising retreat by the Waqf. Is the Waqf telling us now not to resist this gradual usurpation of al-Aqsa Mosque.

This memo is undoubtedly a strange one. Its timing is as bad as its contents. If the Waqf issued it in an attempt to abide by an earlier similar decision taken by Jordan's Waqf Ministry, then it should have discerned that what is applicable to Jordan is not necessarily fitting to the occupied territories. It is time that our nationalist institutions show political maturity before taking critical decisions like barring politics from worshippers in such a highly politicized and volatile land.

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US\$50.00

NAME
ADDRESS
ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT
DATE
SIGNED

Mail to:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
PO Box 19315
East Jerusalem
Via Israel

In US:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925
Washington DC, 20006 USA

Accepting 242 Equals Suicide



by Akram Haniyeh

Shortly, after the end of the summit in Geneva, Middle East observers focused their attention on Baghdad, waiting for a response from the PLO leadership on UN Resolutions 242 and 338. These observers noted that King Hussein demanded PLO acceptance of 242 and 338 in return for the continuation of Jordanian-PLO relations.

When the final communique of the PLO meetings was made public, observers realized that they would have to wait a long time, possibly forever, if they expected Palestinian acceptance of the two UN resolutions. Those who expected the Baghdad meetings to result in approval of the UN resolutions must be very naive or uninterested in achieving a just and lasting peace in the region. The two resolutions deal with the Palestinians as refugees and not as a national movement with national rights and an elected leadership.

The PLO institutions which met in Baghdad — the executive committee and its central council, Fatah central committee, and the office of the PNC presidency — are not authorized to amend decisions which were approved by the PNC, according to Khalid al-Hassan, one of Fatah's leaders.

It would be political suicide for the PLO to accept the two resolutions, since acceptance would mean that the PLO abandons the reason for its existence as a national movement struggling for the return of Palestinian rights. The issue is not one of repeating enthusiastic slogans, but instead is a reassertion of a principled and practical stand.

Those who view things through a purely pragmatic perspective should remember that King Hussein, who recognized UN Resolution 242, and who negotiated from 1967 to 1974 (when the Rabat Arab summit recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people) on the international level over the future of the West Bank, did not meet with success. Egyptian President Jamal Abdel Nasser told Hussein "you can kiss the hand of the Americans if this means the return of the West Bank." But the West Bank was not returned. On the contrary, Israel proceeded with illegal annexations and increased settlements with the assistance and approval of the United States. Syria's recognition of the two UN resolutions "didn't prevent Israel from annexing the Golan Heights." So why are the

Palestinians being asked to sign their own death certificate?

There are some who claim that the PLO should make further concessions because it is in a weakened position, subject to pressures from all sides. But they ignore important facts related to this subject, the most important being that the Palestinians still adhere to the PLO as their representative, which expresses their rights and their struggle. Furthermore, if the PLO did not exist today, the Palestinians would form it tomorrow because it is an historic inevitability as an expression of a people whose rights are denied. Also they ignore the fact that Arab countries found no concessions from America or Israel that encouraged bypassing the PLO in the negotiation process. The crisis of the Arab countries friendly to the US is more complex than the crisis facing the PLO since the US offers them nothing.

After the PLO exodus from Beirut, the Palestinian vision was to protect the greatest achievement of the Palestinian people, its unity, with the PLO as the legitimate representative recognized on the Arab and international level. Despite difficulties which the PLO has faced in recent years, it has succeeded in remaining the voice of the Palestinian people.

At a time when nations are looking for ways to decrease world tension, the Baghdad meetings, by concentrating on Palestinian unity, have set the stage for finding suitable means of including the PLO in any Middle East negotiations. Signs of the beginning of a new phase are reinforced by the new map of alliances which have made Jordan and Syria friends and allies after years of strong enmity.

At this stage, the Palestinians seek an international conference as the only way to attain a just and lasting peace. Washington's attempts to reach separate deals in lieu of negotiating with the PLO will only escalate tension and keep the fire kindled. When France's President Mitterrand spoke last week about the difficulty of direct negotiations in the Middle East peace process, he stated the necessity of an international umbrella, a concept that is, in fact, beginning to be heard in the international community.

US Secretary of State George Shultz said a few weeks ago, "The name of the game in the Middle East is direct negotiations." We believe that many realize now that, after all that has happened and is happening, the name of the game should change to: international conference — based on the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

by Jonathan Kuttab

The Pitfalls of Dialogue

It is a rarely understood phenomenon that members of oppressed groups are generally always ready and eager for dialogue. It is only when members of the oppressor or dominant group find it in their interest to engage in dialogue that it moves very rapidly and fruitfully. This seemed to me natural, especially in the present context of the Palestinian people with their genuine desire for peace; their genuine interest in peace and reconciliation; the moral validity, as they see it, of their cause and the fact that they are the primary victims of the continuation of the conflict. It seemed natural that they would be seeking out every opportunity for dialogue and, in fact, trying to pressure Israelis or Jews or their friends into situations of dialogue.

It was only after being involved for years in attempts at dialogue with Israelis and Jews that I began to understand as I do now why so many Palestinians are reluctant to engage in dialogue. In fact, I hope my comments today expose a "false dialogue" that is often prevalent in this part of the world in order to explain what many of my fellow Palestinians sense but do not articulate when they shun dialogue. It is my hope that being aware of these pitfalls will help us move boldly ahead in pursuit of peace and reconciliation through genuine dialogue.

One of the first and most serious pitfalls that befalls a person interested in dialogue is the assumption of a false symmetry between the oppressor and the oppressed, between the occupier and the occupied, between the powerful and the weak. I call this a false sense of symmetry because different attempts are made to brand the meeting of individuals from these two groups as more or less an open and free meeting between equals. Yet the reality of the situation demands major differences in terms of the freedom of expression granted to members of each group, (their immunity from retaliation of other options available other than dialogue to members of these two groups to pursue their goals); in terms of the resources and general interests that each group has in its furtherance of dialogue. Even a simple matter such as coming to a place of dialogue and finding a proper date and setting for dialogue in our context will reveal this asymmetry. A Palestinian can be prevented from coming to the place of dialogue by a road block or a curfew or town arrest or other restriction on travel. An Israeli on the other hand may be prevented because he is called to militia (compulsory Military Service) in Lebanon, the West Bank or elsewhere. Even the same activity (joining a demonstration for example) can be an expression of the privileged right to dissent with their own government to the oppressor group; or a dangerous terrorist criminal activity of serious magnitude to the members of the oppressed group.

A second pitfall is the tendency to ignore basic conflict issues. Individuals who are engaged in dialogue or who are prone to be engaged in dialogue are usually very reasonable, sensitive, wonderful people and they feel a desperate urgency to have everybody agree with everyone else. Therefore they exert tremendous efforts to reach agreement on as many issues as possible. Therefore, they have a natural tendency to avoid situations that are tough and rough and

when there is genuine deep conflict and differences. Instead they are likely to emphasize issues such as image, perception and outlook.

The evident and perhaps unconscious willingness to avoid the true issues of conflict of land, water resources, national rights, boundaries, flags. These are real life issues that are of tremendous interest to Israelis and Palestinians. Yet people who are involved in dialogue who realize how hard these issues are, tend (like the question of Jerusalem) to leave it till the end. Or maybe ignore it altogether because it is so difficult to agree on it.

A third pitfall is the tendency to accept the status quo and to take for granted the assumptions prevailing generally. Now dialogues are not revolutionary individuals. They are not out to turn the world upside down or to radically transform the existing order. Therefore it is only natural that in a dialogical setting they tend to adopt at least to begin with what is, rather than what ought to be. They tend to begin by accepting many of the assumptions of the oppressor, concerning, for example, who is an extremist? What is possible to do or achieve in a certain situation? What is reasonable? Individuals engaged in dialogue generally tend to accept the assumptions of a status quo.

In my many dialogues with Israelis, there are certain issues, very basic, very real that never come up because they are not allowed to come up. One begins by accepting the legitimacy of the Jewish state because it is there. In fact that is usually one of stated or unstated conditions before dialogue can even begin. A Palestinian wishing to dialogue must accept the existence of a Jewish state. Now if he happens to have any question: moral, ethical, national, logical or religious about the legitimacy of "A Jewish State" then he is probably not the type of person who ought to be involved in dialogue. He must begin by accepting the legitimacy of the State of Israel, the legitimacy of its borders at least as of 1967, the legitimacy of the Israeli Defense forces. For many Israelis engaged in dialogue also the annexation of Jerusalem may be another one of

these assumptions of the status quo that are not very open to question by people involved in dialogue. More important than these political positions is the acceptance of unspoken assumptions as to what is possible what is right. This is the third pitfall.

Fourthly, in the name of moderation and pragmatism, dialogues are often pressured to compromise genuine principles and to accept much moral evil, and to be willing to abandon positions generally popularly held within their own community. Of course it is important for individuals who are engaged in dialogue not to be dogmatic, nor to seek to be "ideologically pure." It is important for them to be open-minded and willing to change their position. Yet within dialogical meetings tremendous pressure is exerted in the name of realism, pragmatism, and moderation to accept things which perhaps from the moral point of view should not be accepted. This will result or may result in their losing the moral power and credibility within their own community.

A fifth pitfall is the tendency to make dialogue a substitute for actions

aimed at empowering the weak and the oppressed and aimed at the elimination of injustice. Many people engaged in dialogue are tempted to seek dialogue as an end unto itself. It is so important to such individuals, for example, to see a Palestinian and an Israeli together on the same platform. Now I agree that this has tremendous value in certain settings but the problem is when the event becomes what is important rather than the content of what is done. When dialogue becomes an end in and of itself and here of course publicity becomes an important matter, as well as joint statements to be publicized widely.

And finally, one final pitfall is that the authorities who watch this dialogue taking place can often successfully co-opt and misuse the events of dialogue to serve their own purposes. How? 'Maybe by de-legitimizing the accepted established leadership of the oppressed group; or using the opportunity of the dialogue to set up those individuals involved in dialogue as an alternative leadership; or as a model to be followed in their community.

I am very much interested in dialogue. What then is a proper model for dialogue: What are the things that one ought to do if one is interested in dialogue but scared away by these pitfalls and dangers that I described? I will try to offer a few, again primarily from the point of view of the oppressed although they do have application for members of the oppressor group involved in dialogue.

The first is to seek out the truth very rigorously without pretense, falsity, or attempts at accommodation. Here I remember the saying of the Mishna: "Truth, Justice, and Peace and in that order."

Secondly avoid panaceas. Don't try to find the magic formula for solving the whole problem. Often the model is for moderates from both sides to sit together and iron out a whole grand solution to which they both agree, then go and try to sell it to their respective communities.

Third never use or attempt to manipulate the other partner in the dialogue. Of course there should be an openness to hear other points of view and it is perfectly legitimate to bring new facts and perspectives in an attempt to change the opinions of the partners in the dialogue. However, the temptation to force the other partner to make statements or to alter his position simply

Continued on page 13



Knife in the Back

To the Editor:

I wonder whether Palestinians realize that a knife in the back of an innocent Jewish passerby is a knife in the back of the Palestinian hope for national independence. Such actions of terror directed against civilians only inflame anger and hatred and give rise to feelings of revenge, thereby weakening the peace forces in Israel.

Let us mention the example of Larnaca. Three Israeli Jews were murdered there. Every murder is intolerable; every loss of human life should be prevented, but I wonder if the murderers knew how vast was the damage caused by that atrocious act of theirs. A man and wife were murdered. Israeli chauvinists would call this couple Arab lovers. They were neighbors and friends of the late Emil Touma. It is reported that after his death they were very close to

his widow and took an active part in helping her in her time of need. The third person killed in Larnaca was active in the list of Lova Eliav's party in the recent elections. He was a supporter of the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

Our bigots and chauvinists tell us, who are looking for a peaceful solution to this bloody conflict — a solution that will be based on mutual recognition, on peaceful coexistence and on readiness to accept the principle of self-determination — that we will be the first victims in the event that the Palestinians triumph. Why should Palestinians help them?

David Shaham
International Center of
Peace in the Middle East
Tel Aviv



Israel and Jaffa Muslims Fight Over Hassan Beq

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Over the last four years, Jaffa's Muslim community has waged a political and popular struggle to win back control of the Hassan Beq Mosque in their city. The Israeli authorities have themselves waged a campaign since 1981 to the same end. However, the local community was surprised this fall to find out that they and their mosque may have been 'sold down the river' by members of an Israeli-appointed Trustees Committee from the Jaffa Muslims themselves.

1981

The story began four years ago when an Israeli contractor announced plans to transform the mosque into a tourist center. Although the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs has claimed control of all Muslim Waqf property inside the 'green line' since 1948, the contractor chose to pacify Jaffa's Muslim community and fend off any protest of his plan by telling the people that he had actually leased the property from the Islamic Waqf Trustees Committee. The Committee in office in 1981 was, as all of the committees before and since, appointed by the Israeli authorities to act as a go-between for the ministry and the Muslim community on matters concerning Islamic property.

At the time, the 1981 Trustees Committee, made up of Palestinians from Jaffa, remained silent on the issue. But this did not deter the community at large from venting their anger at the plan on the Israeli authorities and the trustees themselves. The community leaders succeeded in foiling the plan after they were able to prove in court that the lease contract had been signed illegally by the 1981 Trustees Committee. Their signature was illegal because they were appointed by the Israeli authorities and not elected by Muslims as Islamic Law states.

Jaffa Muslims then took a renewed interest in the mosque — unused since 1948 — and demanded it be turned over to them and renovated for prayer and worship. The Israelis, however, did not want to abandon the mosque. Instead they agreed to the renovation on the condition that Jaffa Muslims agree that the mosque is 'state property' and that they agree to merely lease the mosque from the authorities for 49 years.

In 1981, Jaffa's Muslim community rejected the conditions calling the Israeli plan "blackmail" and saying it was "in line with the official Israeli policy to continue to control Islamic Waqf property." The matter remained

deadlocked until this September when, much to their surprise, the Jaffa community heard that a new Trustees Committee appointed last March had agreed to a renovation plan after a meeting with the Israeli adviser for Arab Affairs in the Prime Minister's office. The Muslims now fear the Trustees Committee may have secretly agreed to the Islamic conditions for ultimate control of the mosque.

Skepticism

The Israeli decision to grant the renovation permit was met with much skepticism among the 13,000-strong Muslim community. The religious leaders believe the agreement between the prime minister's adviser and the trustees is based on the same concessions offered to the unpopular 1981 Trustees Committee. They base their belief on the past record of the former Trustees Committees which have been found to have signed illegal deals with Israeli companies and contractors on the Islamic Waqf property over the past three decades. What also serves for them as evidence are the public statements made by Israeli officials in this regard.

Shortly before signing the agreement, Sheikh Bassam Abu Zied, a popular and respected member of the independent seven-member Islamic Consultant Council, remarked that Yusuf Genat, the present prime minister's adviser for Arab affairs told Israel TV in August, "We just wait for the Trustees Committee to come and sign a document stating that it agrees to vow to rent the mosque from the state for 49 years." Sheikh Abu Zied added that the Israeli insistence on this condition means their refusal to release the mosque completely. He said this has been behind the holdup of the restoration of the mosque for the past four years. "Therefore," he said, "we fear that the Trustees Committee signed a document recognizing that the mosque is the property of the state."

However, Ahmad al-Fanjary, head of the Trustees Committee, denies having signed anything. But Jaffa residents say his denial is not based on concrete proof. He, himself, does not have much schooling, they say, and yet was the one trusted by the Israelis and assigned the task of forming the committee. "I didn't sign any concessions," he said. "I just got a permit to start restoring the mosque and I was promised to be given later a document stating the liberation of the mosque."

But the resignation of two members of the Trustees Committee after their meeting with Yusuf Genat sheds more light on the real direction of the trustees, said Jaffa Muslims interviewed by Al Fajr. Hassan Qundos, a veteran

teacher, who agreed to be a member of the Israeli-appointed committee in the belief that he would be able to influence the policy of the committee, is one of the two members who says he was disappointed with the committee and thus resigned. "I refused at the beginning to agree to be a member in an appointed committee," he said, "because I have always held, like the rest of the Muslim community, that the committee should be elected and not imposed on us." But pressure from his friends changed his mind, he said, especially when he found out that there were two other trustworthy members.

Two months ago, the committee was invited by the prime minister's adviser in Jerusalem to sign an agreement with regards to the mosque: Hassan Qundos told Al Fajr that before they went to the meeting, he had the impression from the head of the committee and other members that they were going to get a liberation document in addition to a large sum of money to restore the mosque. "But to my surprise," he said, "we were brought to the adviser's office to serve as a rubber stamp for the government's claim to the ownership of the mosque." Qundos said the adviser presented to the committee the text of an agreement stating that:

1. The Islamic Waqf Trustees Committee in Jaffa concedes the ownership of Hassan Beq Mosque to Israel's Land office.
2. The Islamic Waqf Trustees Committee leases the mosque from the Israeli Land office for 49 years.
3. The Islamic Waqf Committee is empowered to renew the lease contract for another 49 years.
4. After this period (98 years), the committee does not have the right to

lease the mosque.

5. The committee has to consult the adviser on how to restore the mosque.

According to Qundos, a heated discussion broke out between him and another member on one side, and with the rest of the members on the other side who showed readiness to sign with the addition of a very marginal condition. Al-Fanjary, a garage owner who is known to be affiliated with a Zionist party, said that his primary purpose was to obtain a permit for restoring the mosque. He argued that this in itself was an achievement. But Qundos held like many others that he would rather have the Israelis destroy the mosque than "sign such a treacherous agreement." When Qundos discovered that he could not convince the committee not to sign, he suggested they bring the case to the Islamic Consultant Council in Jaffa as an attempt to prevent them from signing. But a few days later and before meeting with the Consultant Council, he resigned. He told Al Fajr that he concluded that the Israeli authorities were still determined to take over the mosque, and "my presence in the committee would only delay this." He added, somewhat cautiously, that he was afraid the committee had signed the Israeli document.

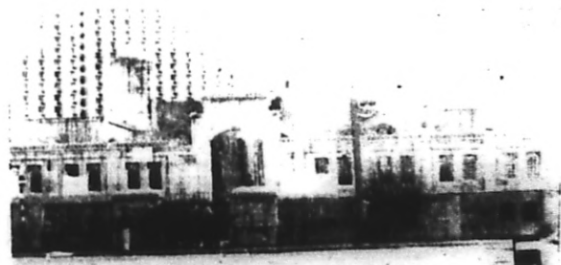
Background

The history of Hassan Beq's restoration is admittedly confusing. The open conflict over the mosque began when the Tel Aviv Municipality declared in 1981 in the name of the Israeli contractor that it intended to transform the mosque into a tourist center. The mosque itself was named after the Turkish ruler of Jaffa who built it in 1914. Its design is highly artistic and an ideal example of Islamic architecture.

The municipality claimed that the mosque had been leased as far back as 1972 by two large Israeli contractors on the Tel Aviv Municipality Construction Committee. They claimed to have leased it from the then Trustees Committee for 49 years.

This revelation prompted popular response among the Jaffa Muslim community. Jaffa's Muslims, whose political consciousness has been growing along with that of the rest of the Palestinians in Israel, viewed this step as part of the general policy of the Zionist establishment to control the Islamic Waqf property not only in Jaffa but in other areas. Immediately they organized protest prayers in the mosque, in which thousands of people from all over the country participated. Also, a Committee

Continued on page 15



Creeping Israeli businessmen threaten the existence of Hassan Beq Mosque which lost its beautiful minaret in 1983.

"The Palestinians are being expelled because the Israeli government wishes to silence their political opinions," explained four prominent American lawyers recently in Jerusalem to study the case of four Palestinians currently slated for deportation.

The lawyers wrapped up their visit with a press conference at which they strongly condemned the deportation orders as violations of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention and urged that they be rescinded. During their week-long stay, the group of four lawyers kept up a whirlwind schedule trying to meet as many officials and individuals involved in the deportation proceedings as possible. With each they discussed the fate of the four Palestinians.

Dentist Dr. Azmi Shu'abi; unionists Ali Abu Hilal and Zaki Abu Statieh; and journalist Hassan Abd al-Jawad are now awaiting a decision concerning their deportation from the Israeli High Court after a military review committee upheld the deportation orders. The case of the four — who were arrested, blindfolded and handcuffed in the wee hours of October 28 — has attracted much international attention including the visit by the American lawyers.

The group of four lawyers, who came on their own initiative, hold high positions in two prominent American legal organizations. Mark Van Der Hout, an expert in international law and deportations, is the president of the National Lawyers Guild which has 7000 members and chapters in every major American city. Although the Guild has previously sent delegations to the country in 1977 and 1984, none of the four had come on the previous trips. For two it was their first trip to the country.

Mary Rita Luecke, an attorney with a Chicago law firm, is vice president of NLG and Michael Smith, a New York attorney, is on the editorial board of the NLG newspaper. Wilhelm Joseph, a New York attorney who works with Community Action for Legal Services, Inc. is co-chairman of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, an organization of 2500 lawyers and judges in the United States with affiliates in Canada and the Caribbean.

The only people who refused to meet the lawyers were Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. On the Israeli side, the four met with three colonels in the military government — Joel Axel, legal adviser to the Military Commander of the West Bank; Yoel Zinger, chief of the International Law Section of the military government; Shalom Hazari, adviser to the Coordinator of Activities; with the Prosecutor for the state Attorney's office, Renato Jarach; and with Meir Gabai, Director-General in the Ministry of Justice. They also met with Israeli human rights activist Israel Shahak and MK Chaima Grossman (Mapam).

On the Palestinian side, the four met with the families of each of the four prisoners who have been issued deportation orders, their entire defense team, including lawyers Felicia Langer and Lea Tsmei; the president of the Bethlehem University Student Council; members of the Arab Lawyers Committee; Ibrahim Dakkak of the Arab Thought Forum; the head of the *Insh al-Ura* (Family Rehabilitation Society); Samiha Khalil; and Knesset members Tawfiq Toubi of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and Muhammad Wadat of Mapam.

At their press conference, held in the Israeli Government Press Building,

Visiting US Lawyers Condemn Deportations



The four American lawyers answering journalists' questions during their press conference at the Israeli government press office in West Jerusalem.

Beit Agron, members of the group repeatedly stressed that both the National Lawyers Guild and the National Conference of Black Lawyers officially recognize "the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign state."

"The National Lawyers Guild," Van Der Hout said at the press conference, "also reaffirms its commitment to see Israel become a just Israel, one which treats all its residents fairly, with dignity, and in compliance with international law."

"We have concluded," said Van Der Hout, "that the present deportations have no basis in Israeli law or in international law. It is the most fundamental right in a deportation or criminal hearing to know the charges against yourself, so the defendant can be adequately represented in court. In these deportation proceedings, the evidence is secret. The lawyers do not know the charges or the evidence of the charges. We are particularly concerned about the secrecy of these proceedings." "The allegations against these individuals are vague," Van Der Hout continued. "They are accused of incitement. If they have committed crimes against the state of Israel, they should be tried in a criminal court. But the state of Israel will not try these individuals because it will have to present evidence against these people — in front of the court and in front of the Israeli public."

The NLG president also asserted that there is no provision allowing deportation in Israeli, Jordanian or international law. For Israel to base its deportation action on the 1945 British Emergency Regulations, the lawyer said, is illegal because the 1945 regulations have no effect. They were overthrown, according to Van Der Hout, by the 1949 Geneva Convention "which Israel signed, so that would void any previous legislation on deportations."

Van Der Hout ended his remarks

with a personal and historical note: "As a Jew," he said, "I feel a special obligation to draw attention to the violation of human rights by Israel, a country I learned when I was growing up was a new country, founded by people who had learned the lessons of the persecution of others. The memory of the terrible deportations of Auschwitz and Treblinka is still clear in our minds."

"I am obviously not trying to equate the extermination of six million Jews with the deportation of four Palestinians. But the dangers posed by the beginning of these deportations necessitate us speaking out. We cannot be 'good Germans' and sit quietly by while a government we believe in [violates human rights]. We must do our part, not only as Jews, but as people concerned with human rights — to speak out against these deportations."

Wilhelm Joseph, in his remarks at the press conference, drew parallels between South Africa and the occupied territories. He pointed to several specific examples, including the passbook or ID that all Palestinians in the occupied territories must carry at all times. "It is more than a simple item of identification or a security measure," he said. "It defines and severely limits a Palestinian's political and civil rights. It prescribes and restricts their freedom of personal movement. It identifies and justifies a Palestinian as a candidate for discriminatory treatment. It's a badge, a tag of humiliation, indignity, and domination."

Joseph also pointed to the clear-cut existence of discrimination as a parallel, "without trying to label the basis as one of race, religion, ethnicity or geographical location. The impact on the victims is the same: they are treated as less than first class citizens in their own homeland."

Joseph termed deportation "a most extreme and inhuman punishment, made worse when imposed without the

minimum protection and intended to bring maximum injury to children and spouses." He summed up his impressions of his visit with a proverb which he himself coined: "Silence in the face of tyranny against thy neighbor is to dig the grave of both thy neighbor and thyself."

Mary Rita Luecke, NLG vice president, told *Al Fajr* after the press conference that the lawyers had not been swayed by the explanations they heard from Israeli officials. "They told us they issue deportation orders in cases where they don't really have the hard evidence they need to take to court, but they have the hearsay evidence from their network of informers," she said. "They agree that deportation is the most severe punishment and reviewed the procedural safeguards that are intended to ensure that this step is used only against the most dangerous people in the most dangerous circumstances."

"But it's so troubling meeting with Israeli government officials and seeing how they totally deny what's going on. On one hand, they say these are people trying to set up a pre-state government. In a sense, that recognizes the national liberation character of the struggle — and it's very clear to me from my visit that it is a national liberation struggle that's going on here. But the Israelis' whole emphasis is on trying to characterize these Palestinians as criminals. They refuse to acknowledge the mandates of the Geneva Convention and point these people who are sincere and legitimate leaders in their own communities as 'terrorists.' The use of that word is a red herring."

Wilhelm Joseph told *Al Fajr* that he thinks the Israeli strategy in the territories will boomerang. "The sum total impact of their measures, instead of producing a docile, passive, submissive people, is to produce anger and hostility. I think the Israeli government is totally wrong in its approach to dealing with the people of the occupied territories."

Michael Smith, the fourth attorney in the group, told *Al Fajr* that he was wrapping up the trip with a lot of foreboding. "My own opinion is that these recent waves of killings [of Israelis by Palestinians] are being used in a demagogic way to repress the [Palestinian] left. Terrible repressive measures have been taken against the workers' movement. I believe the Israelis are deporting Palestinian leaders — unionists, journalists, politicians — because they are the ones who can present and mobilize opposition to the government's designs *vis-a-vis* the West Bank."

"Israel," said Smith, who was last in the country as a youth in 1959 when he worked on a kibbutz, "has come a long way from the hopes of its pioneers. Instead of having what they hoped to be a country where there would be equality and solidarity of workers, they're oppressing and exploiting the Arab workers upon whose heads they have settled. What we see happening is oppression begetting violence in a tragic spiral. In that respect, Zionism goes against the traditional Jewish values of justice. What's needed is a political solution where Arabs and Jews can live together on a basis of equality and mutual respect. As a Jew, my notion of how that can come about would be under a socialist society."

The four lawyers told *Al Fajr* they will hold a press conference upon their return to the US. They intend also to pressure Congress and the State Department, and will especially try to get Washington to clarify its position on whether or not the 1945 Emergency Regulations are still valid in the occupied territories.

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Open racism and related violence in the streets against Arabs within the 1948 borders of Israel is becoming one of the most troublesome issues facing the Palestinian community inside the 'green line'. Marwan Dweiri, a Palestinian from Nazareth, was recently elected to head the Arab-Jewish Committee Against Racism in Israel. Dweiri was elected after he shone in a televised debate against Alexander Finkelstein, head of the Upper Nazareth fascist movement the *Mena's*.

Following is an exclusive *Al Fajr* interview with Dweiri on this burning issue of violent racism. Dweiri also works as the head of the municipality-run Psychiatric Services Department, and heads the University Graduates League.

Al Fajr: Explain the circumstances around the formation of the Committee Against Racism.

Dweiri: The committee was initiated in response to the growing open display of racism against Arabs in Israel. Two years ago, a racist Jewish group called *Mena's* appeared in Upper Nazareth, whose purpose was to prevent Arab families from Nazareth from renting or purchasing apartments there. The sharp housing crisis facing the Arabs in Nazareth drives them to move to the Jewish Upper Nazareth. *Mena's* started threatening the Arabs with violence if they moved there. The Jews who rent houses to Arabs have also been the targets of defamation by the racist group who accuses them of betrayal.

In such a tense atmosphere where racist threats were actually carried out against some Arab families, I was invited to a televised debate with Alexander Finkelstein, the head of the *Mena's* group. The debate was on the phenomenon of racism. The debate showed the sharp contrast between my humane ideas and his fascist and racist thinking. While he insisted that Arabs in Israel should be expelled and their civil rights be abolished, I called for equality and mutual respect between the two peoples. I received many letters, mainly from Jews, expressing support and satisfaction with my beliefs.

In January 1984, two months after the debate, the first conference against racism was held in Nazareth in which more than 50,000 Jewish, Arab and liberal Jewish groups participated. It was the Nazareth University Graduates League which sponsored the conference and which worked towards recruiting support among liberal Jews for the conference. A 15-member committee representing different Arab and Jewish political parties was taken from the conference.

Al Fajr: Is racism a new phenomenon in Israel? In other words, was racism in Israel born with the emergence of Meir Kahane?

Dweiri: No, it is not. It accompanies Zionism. The entire Zionist plan in Palestine is racist in itself. But after the establishment of Israel, racism started with the practices of the official Israeli authorities and statements by Israeli officials against the Palestinians who remained in their homeland. For example, Ben Gurion refused to carry an ID card because of Arabic words on it. Uri Lubrani, the former prime minister's adviser for Arab affairs, said that it would be better if there were no Arab students, but only Arab drawers of water and woodcutters. Others described

Palestinian Activist Talks About Anti- Racism Campaign



Israeli officials
Condemn Kahane
on the one hand
while on the other
hand they implement
most of his ideas in
a tactical way

Marwan Dweiri

Arabs as a cancer in the body of the state of Israel. Needless to say, there was also the infamous Koenig document (the Northern district commander) in which he suggested a number of measures which would finally force Arabs out.

This is only on the level of official statements. On the practical level, things are more horrible. We, based on our experience in Israel, consider the total policy which the Israeli authorities have followed since 1948 as racist. This policy has been embodied in continued massive land confiscation, in the denationalization of the teaching curriculum in the Arab schools, in the discrimination against Arab local authorities and the Arab sector in general. The budgetary allocations given to the Arab local councils constitute only 25 percent of those given to the Jewish ones. There is also the plan of the Judaization of the Galilee. Even the kibbutzim which claim to be socialist refuse to accept Arabs as members. The Histadrut — the Israeli workers union — called for Hebrew labor only until the late 1950s.

Al Fajr: If racism is not a new thing in Israel and has been practiced against Arabs for a long time, why are Arabs and liberal Jews just now organizing under the banner of fighting racism?

Dweiri: In fact, Arabs in Israel have not stopped fighting racism. But this struggle has been waged against the total oppressive and discriminatory Israeli policy, not only against the phenomenon of racism. But what is new is that racism has moved into the street and been translated into direct violence. No single Arab can remain immune against this violence — I mean those who have been silent concerning the Israeli oppressive policy and unwilling to resist it.

It is simply now an unrestrained racism which threatens every Arab at home, at work, in the university, on the bus and in the street. Scores of Arabs who were attacked in Afula at the end of last July following the killing of two Israelis represents the climax of this unrestrained racist hatred against Arabs. So far many individual racist incidents have been reported. Three people at least have disappeared. One of them was recently found dead, the father of four

children. I would like to refer to a number of polls sponsored by Israeli researchers on the subject of racism in order to reveal the thinking of Israelis about Arabs. In a poll prepared by Shlomo Ariei and published in *HaAretz* (December 1, 1983) it was said that most of the 500 Jewish youths who were questioned supported Finkelstein's ideas of stripping Arabs of their citizenship and civil rights. Another poll by Mena Tzema, another researcher, said that 60 percent of the religious youth and 50 percent of the Sephardi youth would give their votes to Kahane if elections were to be held.

Al Fajr: What are the elements which are behind this emergence of open racism?

Dweiri: Generally the reasons lie in the economic, political and ideological crisis facing the Zionist establishment, resulting from the policy of continued occupation and wars. Since the picture of the Arab is distorted in the mind of the Israeli youths and he is presented as a creature who cannot be trusted and who represents a threat to the security of the state, then it is very easy to mobilize these youths against him when there is a problem. For example, the deteriorating economic conditions in Israel and the growing unemployment is blamed on Arabs by a large percentage of the Israeli youth, and this is because the news media has played a role in fostering this belief. Two years ago Yediot *Aharonot* published a long feature in which unemployed Israeli youths in Tiberias threatened to kick out Arab workers from hotels and construction projects because they claimed they were behind their unemployment.

So the bad economic situation has driven some Israelis, especially in the poor neighborhoods, to despair and they are ready to direct their anger at the wrong 'enemy'. Because of the brainwashing they have undergone, they don't know that their enemy is their government which has deceived them by following a disastrous economic policy.

Al Fajr: What do you mean by the political and ideological crisis, and how

has it contributed to the escalation of overt racism?

Dweiri: I believe whoever wants to understand the reasons behind the open racism in Israel, has to take this crisis into account. The political and ideological crisis of Zionism is acute. Immigration to Israel has sharply dropped. The Zionist movement has failed to attract all the Jews of the world to Israel. Ten million Jews all over the world refuse to view Israel as their homeland and insist that the countries they live in are their homelands. Since the establishment of the state of Israel, 400,000 Jews have emigrated from the state. In the territories occupied in 1967 only 50,000 settlers have settled there over the 18 years of occupation. Also, in the Galilee, the percentage of the Arabs is still 50 percent despite Zionist efforts to Judaize it.

Al Fajr: But this crisis not only affects the behavior of the Israeli public towards Arabs but refers back to the official authorities?

Dweiri: Sure. In the last few years, racist and discriminatory laws have been passed by the Knesset and this certainly has contributed much to preparing the ground for the emergence of racist and fascist groups. The Israeli democratic mask has collapsed and open racist laws have been legislated such as the national insurance allowances for children which discriminates against Arab children. Also the decisions of the Katzav Committee which deprives Arab students from grants and loans under the pretext that they don't serve in the army. No doubt these laws are implementation of some of the suggestions which came in the Koenig document. It is clear that the Israelis are now resorting to these open racist measures after they failed to control the Arab masses and block their becoming a considerable political force.

Al Fajr: Who among the Israelis is really interested in fighting the phenomenon of Kahane and racism?

Dweiri: There are Israelis who condemn Kahane out of political and ideological principles, and they are not ready to struggle only against Kahane, but also against racism, suppressive policy and the submergence of the national rights of the Palestinian people. But these are the smallest group in Israeli society.

The others are against Kahane out of humane reasons and view Kahaneism as a dangerous phenomenon, but they cannot see the relationship between Kahane and the official racism. This group falls within the Zionist left. The rest, who are the majority and which include the official authorities, are embarrassed by the fact that their real policy is exposed to the world.

Al Fajr: How do you explain the statements issued by Israeli officials condemning Kahane and his racist ideas?

Dweiri: This is mere hypocrisy. They condemn Kahane on the one hand while, on the other hand, they implement most of his ideas in a tactical way. What disturbs the Israeli officials that Kahane exposed the real face of the Zionist establishment, which embarrasses them in front of the world. It is right that maybe they did not say what Kahane says about Arabs, but they have implemented what he is saying. They expelled hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homeland and have been

Continued on page 15

Soviet Jews, the US and Israel: An Issue of Corruption, Contradiction and Hypocrisy



Little Odessa — A section of Brooklyn that has attracted hundreds of Soviet Jews leaving the USSR and who are not interested in immigrating to Israel.

by Michael Lowry

About a quarter of a million Jews have left the Soviet Union over the past decade and a half. Approximately 140,000 have settled in Israel; 100,000 in the United States; and 20,000 in Western Europe and Canada. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, emigration was cut down to a trickle. The Soviet government claims that everyone who wanted to leave has received an exit visa. The Israeli government claims that the resumption of Jewish mass emigration from the USSR has been made conditional on the direct transfer of the emigrants to Israel. Soviet Jewish activists claim that the Soviet Jews are facing a "holocaust of assimilation." Where does the truth lie?

The Soviet government's claim that the 1.9 million Jews who have remained in the USSR do not wish to

emigrate would seem credible were it not for the fact that the few who apply for exit visas are subject to harassment by the KGB. On the other hand, the Israeli claim that future emigration depends on the curtailment of the emigrants' freedom to choose their destination seems to be a bluff worthy of the Soviet machine. Finally, the claim put forward by Soviet Jewish activists and their right-wing and clerical supporters about a "holocaust of assimilation" is both corrupt, in its equation of assimilation into the Soviet society with extermination at the hands of the Nazis, and contradictory, for it implies that anti-Semitism no longer stands in the way of the rapid and total integration of the Jews in the Soviet society.

But whereas the plight of the Soviet Jews is a human rights issue for

the United States and diplomatic barter in superpower trade-offs, the plight of the Palestinians under Israeli rule isn't. There are certain cognitive borders the US State Department dares not cross; and the line separating the standards applied to Communist regimes from those applied to anti-Communist regimes is one of them. It was after all US President Reagan who enlisted the military dictator of Turkey — fresh from the bloody suppression of the Turkish workers' movement — in his television crusade against the military suppression of the Polish trade union movement.

Is Israel any different? Judging by the Israeli government's reaction to the military dictatorship that took power in Argentina, the answer is No. Although the military government was overtly anti-Semitic, although Jews were arrested simply because they were Jews, although among its followers were outright Nazis, Israel not only refrained from speaking out about what was going on in the interrogation cells of Buenos Aires, but it even stepped up its arms sales to the Argentinian military regime. At the height of the repression, Begin was too busy making the denial of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination part and parcel of the "war against communist subversion" to bother with the Israeli state's ostensible role as guardian of world Jewry. And the US government was only too happy to see Israel supplying the generals with arms; it gave the Carter Administration a certain leeway in its show of basing US foreign policy on human rights.

Yet when Soviet ideologues write of Israel being "a bastion of US imperialism," and an "aggressive stooge of Western neo-colonialism," their charges are held up by Zionist ideologues as a kind of ultimate proof of Soviet anti-Semitism. For the Soviet emigration

activists on the government's payroll, this is second nature. The world, they'll tell you, is in the throes of a battle between the forces of good — i.e. the United States — and the forces of evil — i.e. the USSR. If for the sake of freedom and happiness the United States must murder millions of peasants in southeast Asia, pillage Central and South America, and prop up oppressive regimes the world over, it is not for the sake of profit and domination but solely to save the world from the menace of Communism. Point out that the Soviet Union uses similar arguments to justify its actions in Afghanistan, Eastern Europe and the USSR itself and they'll shake their head and wonder aloud how you could have been so easily duped.

From there it's only a short step to issuing hysterical warnings about an imminent "holocaust of assimilation," about Nazi-like treatment of the Soviet Jews.

Do they believe what they're saying, or is it simply designed to rouse the Israeli public out of its apathy regarding "our brethren behind the Iron Curtain?" For much to their chagrin, the man in the street is little concerned with the situation of the Jews in the USSR. So it is that rallies held on behalf of Soviet Jewry are made up by and large of high school pupils who are coerced into attending by their teachers and principals. Addressed by a motley crew of Zionist spokespersons, more often than not drawn from the right-wing and clerical camp, they're presented with a distorted portrayal of Soviet anti-Semitism and told time and time again of the importance of Jewish immigration to Israel.

All the same, some can't help but experience confusion over the reasons why Jews should want to immigrate to Israel. Is it because anti-Semitism is eradicated or for the sake of Jewish demographic superiority? Or are the two connected? And if immigration is so important, how can one explain the high rate of emigration from Israel? Why are so many people, especially young people, "abandoning the state?" And why should people be attracted to a country where war, unemployment and fascism is about all one can expect?

Of course, Zionist propagandists have all the answers at their fingertips. If they've come to sound increasingly hollow, they don't seem to be put out. In fact, they don't even seem to be listening.



THE COURAGE TO CARE

Over half of the four million Palestinians are registered refugees, with as many as 764,000 still living in 61 refugee camps dispersed throughout the Middle East. Political issues aside, these forgotten, homeless, and dispossessed Palestinians—men, women and children, need your urgent support.

United Palestinian Appeal, Inc. is taking the lead in helping to alleviate the suffering and pain of these people by providing them with adequate health care, housing, education and other social and humanitarian services.

We appeal to you to help us achieve these goals. Your investment, no matter how modest, in allaying human suffering, is never too little or too late.

You Can Make A Difference

Send your tax-deductible contributions to:
United Palestinian Appeal, Inc. • 2100 M St., NW, Suite 409
Washington, DC 20037 • (202) 659-5007

Enclosed please find my contribution of: ☐ \$15 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$150 ☐ \$1000

Other: _____

Please place my gift for:

☐ Health Care and Services

☐ Community Development

☐ Educational projects

☐ Wherever the need is greatest

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____ Corporation _____

UPA is a non-political, independent, American-based, tax-exempt charitable organization established since 1980 to extend humanitarian relief to the Palestinians in the occupied territories and the diaspora.



by Lesley Abukhatir

"Get me the plow. Get me the sickle. Beware, don't move from your land."

The earnest voice of the poet calls from the scratchy cassette now worn from overuse. The Palestinian youth was just a child when the poet — Mustafa al-Kurd — first wrote his lyric. But he has heard Mustafa's music for years now, first from his older brothers and now on his own tape recorder to which he and his schoolchums listen almost daily as they discuss their dreams of revolution and national struggle. Thus, the voice of the artist and his Arabic *oud* have been heard all over Palestine since the early days of the occupation. Thus, he has come to symbolize national music at its best.

In the late 60s, Mustafa al-Kurd, now almost 40, warned farmers not to leave their land to work in Israeli settlements. Then the young Palestinian from Jerusalem left his land, his country for a sojourn abroad in Germany which turned into a decade spent on foreign soil. There he studied the classic examples of Western music, piano, theory and the more than 30 scales of Arabic music. He spent six years studying in Berlin and the northern city of Goettingen. He studied voice, read poetry and wrote more music which slowly began to reach the occupied territories in the form of inexpensively produced cassettes. In the meantime he married and had a son. And now he has come home.

Once more he sang "Get me the plow. Get me the sickle," but this time from the stage of El-Hakawati Theater in Jerusalem to a Palestinian audience in their 20s and 30s on November 23. He sang with the conviction of a man who has known what it means to leave home, to be a Palestinian in diaspora. He sang with the conviction of an artist whose work has matured and who seeks to explain that maturation to the one audience that has known him for years. And he sang with the knowledge that at least in Mustafa's case, a prophet is welcome in his own country.

Mustafa's performance was excellent in many respects. His voice was strong and clear and reminiscent of the prayer call from the mosque. He placed emphasis on every word, clearly enunciating every sound, rolling every 'r' and punctuating every glottal stop. He sang as though his heart were in it, and at times his intensity became strained and his voice cracked as if he were pushing himself too hard. But he continued to sing, song after song, barely giving the audience time to clap or himself time to comment in between selections, something the audience would have preferred.

During the performance, he used two different *ouds*, playing masterfully on each. But not once did he break out into a cadenza or play any kind of lengthy instrumental interlude. Although he says that his music has been greatly influenced by modern jazz, unlike jazz musicians he has subordinated the music to the lyrics. "I am not willing to relieve the tensions of any audience, make them laugh and dance. I try to get my music to soften the audience and then I try to reach their intellects with the words and the poetic pictures in the lyrics," he said.

Mustafa al-Kurd: A Palestinian Musician Returns Home



It is clearly the lyrics that are most important to Mustafa. Although many of them are not his own but the work of poets like Mahmoud Darwish, nevertheless Mustafa builds the music around the words with the most effective way to present the message of the lyric uppermost in his mind. And now on his return, it is the new music set to newer, more mature lyric that interests Mustafa

although much of his audience at Hakawati clamored for the older, more familiar tunes.

"As an artist, I try to give my audience the latest and most progressive works. The audience always wants songs that they know and are familiar with. In this give and take we try to reach a compromise that pleases us," he said. "There was in fact a give and take at one

point in the Jerusalem concert. In answer to calls for the old songs from the theater balcony, Mustafa said to the audience, "I am glad you are telling me what you want, but I want you to let me tell you what I want."

And that is exactly what he did. He sang of Adel, a carpenter friend whose hammer joined with Mustafa's nail could be used to build a nation. He sang of Jerusalem, the symbol of his birth and of his country. And one more time, he called for the plow and the sickle and warned the farmers not to leave their land.

The lyrics in Mustafa's music were powerful, just as his voice was powerful. But at times the rhythm of the words seemed forced on the rhythm of the music. The two did not fit perfectly and the listener found himself unconsciously reacting to a piece that seemed a little 'out of synch.' Nevertheless, the effect was much as Mustafa wanted — people heard the words and learned from them.

It is this learning, this educational role that Mustafa seeks to play in his music. In terms of the national struggle, he feels his music has a dual purpose — locally and internationally. For a Palestinian audience, he believes his role is to "raise the musical taste" of his audience and educate them in a more sophisticated, more mature musical vein. At the same time, he seeks to use the lyric as impetus for a broader-based dialogue on Palestine and Palestinian rights.

Mustafa plans to work now that he is home in the field of Palestinian music education. He wants to try to unify the forces of education and the artists in order to "come out with a unique product." He will also continue to perform throughout the country.

Internationally, Mustafa sees his musical role again as one of education. He seeks to educate a foreign audience to the state of Palestinian culture. "I want to show them that we have an art and civilization," he said.

Whatever Mustafa's plans to help initiate a maturation process in Palestinian music, it was clear from his concert last week that his music had indeed matured over the past decade. "I learned more of the genuine Arabic music as well as a lot about western music while abroad," he said. "In the beginning, my music was more spontaneous. But after my education the spontaneity was engulfed in a kind of planned process so the musical sentence and the presentation and the lyrics were all intertwined."

This intertwining of lyric, tune and performance was perhaps most evident in his rendition of Beirut, a song to which Hakawati actor Radi Shehadeh wrote the lyrics during the siege of Beirut. "Oh wind, don't weep on Beirut. Blow and weep on those who forget her. Oh Beirut, Oh Beirut. Oh mother, we travelled by night until the light came. We looked up into the clouds until the dew came. We planted flowers until the blossom bloomed. Oh Beirut, Oh Beirut."

For the Jerusalem audience welcoming Mustafa home, they could hear the anguish of the night journey in his voice and in the mellow tones of his instrument. They knew what it meant to be Palestinian looking towards Beirut and up into the clouds awaiting the sunrise. They knew the dream of the taste of dew. And they knew that at least in the case of Mustafa, now home from the diaspora, he had not forgotten Beirut. He had not forgotten Jerusalem.



The PLO meeting in Baghdad and the hijacking of an Egyptian plane were the main topics of discussion in the Arab news this week. Palestinian newspapers again declared their rejection of UN Resolutions 242 and 338. On the hijacking of the Egyptian plane, Palestinian papers strongly condemned the action. *Al Quds* daily twice gave its editorial space to the subject. The widely-circulated newspaper said "We have had enough." Other topics of interest in the local press included the situation in Lebanon and ongoing reaction to the Reagan-Gorbachev summit.

Geneva Summit

It is expected that the secret dialogue between Reagan and Gorbachev will be revealed today. Though Soviet and American officials described the atmosphere of the talks as friendly, frank, serious and responsible, we do not think that the results will measure up to the expectations. One need only to refer to the report that the American Arms Industry is concerned about the success of the summit to reach an agreement on arms control, indicating the strong influence of the American Arms Industry on American policy and on increasing world tension. If the arms control issue dominated the talks, then the share of the Arab cause was meagre. The blame for this Arab absence lies with the Arab regimes themselves. These regimes did nothing to change facts on the ground, contenting themselves instead with sending letters to the two leaders.

AL SHA'AB
November 21

Geneva Summit... and The Palestinian Cause

The mere convening of the Geneva summit is an indication of the desire of the two superpowers to ease tension between the two blocs. The Geneva summit is a step toward a fresh start based on frankness and confidence. The whole world was

relieved by the meeting of the two leaders. As for the Middle East problem, it has always been exploited by one superpower or the other in order to extend its influence. The Middle East problem must have been dealt with by the two leaders because it had been a source of friction between the two superpowers on many occasions. The idea of convening an international conference, which both are inclined to, is the right thing to do to start settling the Palestinian problem. The two superpowers are requested to stop manipulating the peace efforts. The Soviet Union should be given an appropriate role in the peace efforts.

AL QUDS
November 22

A Question to the Israeli Ministry of Health

One of the most basic human rights is the right to medication when one's life is in danger. But health conditions in the occupied territories - Jerusalem in particular - are governed by complicated measures that endanger the lives of many patients. Jerusalemites are not entitled to treatment in West Bank hospitals, in accordance with the instructions of the Israeli authorities.

The Israeli Ministry of Health closed the Hospice Hospital and it did not keep its promise to the poor patients in the city to provide them with

treatment in other hospitals. What can these people do in the face of such deplorable measures? We direct this question to the ministry.

AL FAJR
November 23

The Post - Geneva Summit

No miracles emerged from the Geneva summit, although miracles were not expected because of aggressive American policy. The mere convening of the summit is considered by the West Bank as a positive step. And the agreement of the two leaders to hold future meetings may also be considered positive incentive to ease tensions. The Palestinian cause was not dealt with at length because of the weakness of the Arab position. The Arab regimes are conspiring against the PLO instead of supporting it. In the light of future meetings between the foreign ministers of the two superpowers, the Arab mission remains the same. There has to be a unified Arab stand.

AL SHA'AB
November 23

We Have Had Enough

An Egyptian Airliner has been hijacked this time. The hijackers are Arabs. Their demands are not declared. The results are known beforehand. Such operations can only harm

the aims of those who perpetrated the hijacking. If anything, such operations tarnish the image of the Arabs, who will be depicted as blood-thirsty terrorists. Despite this tragic operation, we hope that Egypt won't be drawn into military conflicts with other Arab states.

AL QUDS
November 25

Beirut Clashes

The clashes that erupt in West Beirut from time to time will only serve the enemies of the Lebanese people and its national forces. The hostile forces are doing their best to explode the situation in Lebanon so as to distract attention from their own schemes aimed at implementing the second part of the Camp David Accords. The Lebanese nationalist forces are required to purge from their ranks those elements carrying out imperialist plans.

AL MITHAQ
November 25

Baghdad's Message

Baghdad meetings took a course that was completely unexpected. While some were pressing the Palestinian leadership to reconsider 242 and 338, the leadership made it clear that these subjects were not even on the agenda.

The Palestinian leaders reiterated their adherence to the idea of an international conference. Accepting the aforementioned resolutions means conceding Palestinian rights and turning the cause into a refugee one. The central council emphasized Palestinian national unity. There may be new initiatives in this regard.

AL SHA'AB
November 26

Heroism Cannot be Achieved Through Shedding Innocent Blood

The outcome of the hijacking of the Egyptian plane resulted in eighty casualties. These are the criteria of heroism and glory for those who planned the hijacking.

First they claimed they were Egypt's Revolution. But which Egypt and what revolution are they talking about? Egypt is much above the standard of such people. This operation is unexplainable. If the perpetrators claim they are revolutionaries, we tell them that revolutionaries do not achieve their rights through shedding the blood of innocent people. The opposite is true.

AL QUDS
November 26

Detainees Demand Transfer to WB

The Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi* November 27 against the 'civil administration' and Israeli prison authorities. The court ordered them to show cause within 30 days why 60 administrative detainees are being held in Beer Sheva Prison outside the occupied territories.

Holding them away from their homeland contravenes the Geneva Convention.

The 60 detainees, who were rounded up in the latest Israeli crackdown in the West Bank, appealed to the High Court through lawyer Felicia Langer. They demanded that they be transferred to prisons within the territories occupied in '67.

Langer told *Al Fajr* that she explained to the judges that keeping Palestinian prisoners from the occupied territories is equal to deportation to another state. She also explained that prisoners feel they are uprooted from their land and isolated in a remote place where their families find difficulty visiting them. "This is in addition to the horrible conditions in Beer Sheva Prison," she added.

In the past, the Israelis have kept Palestinian prisoners from the West Bank and Gaza Strip in prisons within the 1948 borders of Israel for temporary periods. But after protest from lawyers and families, the Israelis stopped doing that.

Settlements To Collapse Without Israeli Aid

Meron Benvenisti, director of the West Bank Data Project, told a press conference November 24 that the majority of Jewish settlements on the West Bank would collapse if the government ceased pumping money into them.

Basing his conclusions on his analysis of official statistics, Benvenisti said that the Gush Etzion settlement movement can no longer recruit settlers to live in the heart of the West Bank away from the large Israeli population centers. Of the 52,000 Israeli settlers living on the West Bank, the great majority are living close to the 'green

line'. Benvenisti also took note of the fact that over half of the West Bank settlements have fewer than 200 residents - too little to ensure growth. Moreover, there are few jobs available to them in the vicinity of their homes. Seventy-nine percent of the settlers leave their settlements to go to work; 62 percent of them travel to Israel to work, 17 percent work in other settlements.

Benvenisti further added that the government has been pouring funds into the settlements to keep them afloat. For instance, its aid to the regional councils' regular budgets in 1983 totalled US\$230 for every Gush Etzion resident, US\$408 for every resident in the Jordan Valley and US\$357 for every resident in the north of the West Bank. In comparison, the per capita aid for residents of the Upper Galilee is US\$97.

Government grants to local councils make up over half their revenues. According to Benvenisti, if the government were to cease subsidizing the West Bank settlements, at least 70 of the 104 would collapse. Benvenisti's referral to West Bank settlements doesn't include settlements in East Jerusalem.

Boycott

Continued from page 1

ute information on local industries and even to carry out a campaign of supplying Palestinian shops with local goods.

Awad reminded Palestinians in his leaflet of the successful rebellion of 1936 in which residents struck for six months and were able to sustain themselves on goods of their own production.

40 Beduin Homeowners Fear Demolition

Eight Palestinian families from al-Khawald Beduin encampment on the main Nazareth-Haifa highway were threatened with loss of a basic need - shelter - last week.

Israeli authorities sent the families orders to demolish their newly-built homes on the pretext that they were built without legal construction permits. The orders, which were issued by the Israeli planning committee, also said that the families should destroy the houses themselves in addition to paying fines amounting to 185 million each for violating the construction laws.

According to Khalid Mahmoud Khawald, one of the homeowners, the entire 40-house encampment is threatened with destruction. Authorities also

want to demolish a similar number of shacks in which the families lived before building their new homes.

On November 26, Israeli authorities destroyed two shacks and wanted to demolish the house of Mustafa Ima'ul. However, he obtained an order *nisi* from the High Court which effectively postponed the demolition order.

The families told *Al Fajr* that they have been living in the encampment since before the establishment of the state of Israel. The Israeli authorities have refused to grant construction permits to the encampment and to extend water and electricity to it. "We believe," Khawald said, "the Israelis want to expel us from our land and build a settlement there."

Observers say the demolition seems to be the implementation of statements by Israeli officials in the last few weeks who said that they intend to find a solution to the problem of unlicensed houses in the Arab sector. According to the Israeli Interior Ministry, there are 7000 unlicensed houses in the Arab sector. The Regional Committee of the Local Arab Councils inside the 1948 border of Israel has accused the Israeli authorities of being responsible for the unlicensed houses. "The Arabs," Ibrahim Nimr, head of the committee, said, "are forced to build without permits because the Israeli authorities refrain from granting permits to many people in an attempt to block the development of the Arab villages and towns."

Pitfalls

Continued from page 6

in order to please you or even to further the process of the dialogue should be severely resisted. It generally leads to a situation which is totally fake, to deception and hypocrisy and to statements being made within the dialogue which are not truly believed in, and which are not repeated outside of the context of the dialogue itself.

Fourth: Keep your whole society in mind while you dialogue with members of another society.

Finally, and this point perhaps encompasses or transcends all the previous points: Act. Individuals who are engaged in dialogue must always do so with the full knowledge that dialogue must only be a first and a preliminary step towards action. Joint or separate action aimed at empowerment of the oppressed and that opposes injustice.

Peace, Justice and Reconciliation can be tremendously advanced by an open dialogue between members of the oppressed group and those who are willing among the oppressor society. In the process both sides benefit and both sides advance. A groundwork can thus be laid for true co-existence. This can be done as they move from the dialogue of empty words into the dialogues of the hands and feet working together for justice and peace. This is the proper path, let us walk in it.

Jonathan Kuttab is a Jerusalem lawyer. He is the co-director of the Ramallah based human rights watchdog Law in the Service of Man. The above article is an excerpt from a lecture he delivered last month at the Tantur Theological Institute in Jerusalem.

"A message of solidarity and support to the Palestinian people, on this international day of solidarity with your struggle."
American friends and supporters of the Palestinian people.

* JOURNALISTS * ACADEMICS * POLITICAL ACTIVISTS *

AL FAJR has prepared a comprehensive pocket diary containing local information on the WEST BANK, GAZA STRIP and PRE-1967 PALESTINE. Such information is often difficult to find and has never before been compiled in one place.

The AL FAJR DIARY contains addresses and phone numbers of:

* LAWYERS * MUNICIPALITIES * UNIVERSITIES * PRESS * ORGANIZATIONS * INDUSTRY * ETC. IN ALL THE MAJOR CITIES

As well as HOTELS - RESTAURANTS - TRANSPORTATION in Jerusalem.

In addition the AL FAJR DIARY gives you a historical overview, information about the PLO, the major UN resolutions, maps, useful Arabic phrases, holidays and important dates AND MUCH MORE.

This compact diary (8.5 X 16 cm) is available from AL FAJR.

The AL FAJR DIARY costs only US\$3 (£2) excluding postage* - US\$5 (£4) including postage. Special rates for bulk purchases.

Please send me the AL FAJR DIARY.

No. of copies
Name
Address
Enclosed is a cheque for
Mail to: Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly, PO Box 19315, East Jerusalem, via Israel.

* The price quoted in last week's issue is excluding postage, not including as printed.

THE PALESTINIAN NEEDLEWORK PROGRAM is having a RENOVATION SALE

November 18 - December 5

30% reduction on all items

HOURS: 8 A. M. - 7 P. M.

MONDAY - SATURDAY

LOCATION: MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

79 NABLUS ROAD
(ACROSS AMBASSADOR HOTEL)
P. O. BOX 19208
EAST JERUSALEM

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION SEEKS

A highly trained secretary (male/female). Multilingual (French-English-Arabic-Hebrew). Experienced (minimum 5 years in an executive position). Typing speed and accuracy. Available immediately. Candidates who fulfill the above requirements have to submit their curriculum vitae to:

P.O. Box 20253 - Jerusalem
Or phone for appointment: 02/285657 - 285845 - 284885

Written applications will be accepted till December 15, 1985.
Telephone calls for appointments will be accepted from December 4 till 8, 1985.

November 20

SHORTAGE OF MEDICINE

West Bank patients suffering from high blood pressure complain that there has been a shortage since last March of needed medicine in pharmacies and clinics.

2 TEENAGERS SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Muhammad Hussein Suwan, of Amatin village in the Tulkarm area, to 5 years in jail and 3 years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organization.

The court also sentenced Khaled Silman Jabarin, of Ramallah, to 16 days in prison, 3.5 months suspended and a \$250,000 fine on charges of writing nationalistic graffiti.

ARRESTED FOR UPROOTING TREES

Israeli police arrested Mujahed Salem Abu Lail, 32, from Ain Mahel village in the Nazareth district on charges of uprooting trees planted on confiscated land. Abu Lail has denied the charges.

BETHLEHEM U. STUDENTS HARASSED

A bus carrying students from Bethlehem University was stopped for one hour and a half at an army checkpoint at the entrance to Jericho. Soldiers searched the bus and examined students' identification papers.

One student, Ibrahim al-Talbi, 25, of Dura village in the Hebron area, was taken into custody and jailed for 6 months without trial under administrative detention orders.

November 21

ARMY VEHICLE AMBUSHED IN HEBRON AREA

Shots were fired at an Israeli army truck as it passed near one of the Jewish settlements in the Hebron area, Israel Radio reported. No casualties or damage were reported. Soldiers combed the area in search of the assailants, the radio report said.

PETROL BOMB ATTACK

A petrol bomb was tossed at a settler's car as it drove near Azzoun village. The bottle, which failed to explode, smashed through the car's windshield. No one was injured.

Israel Radio said that shortly after the attack, a group of settlers staged a demonstration in Azzoun. Israeli troops promptly clamped a curfew on the village and conducted intensive searches for the attackers.

2 SURIF YOUTHS GET LIFE IMPRISONMENT

Two youths from the village of Surif in the Hebron area were sentenced to life in prison by an Israeli military court in Lydda on charges of killing an Israeli couple in the Beit Shemesh area last June. Mustafa Omar Ghneimat and Ziad Ghneimat, both in their early 20s, were also convicted of membership in a Palestinian organization and weapons training.

ABU RAHMEH, BRITISH CONSUL REVIEW SITUATION

Gaza lawyer Fayed Abu Rahme met with the British consul-general in Jerusalem and discussed with him the current political situation. Abu Rahme affirmed the desire of the Palestinian people to achieve a just peace with guarantees for self-determination.

BETHLEHEM STUDENT RELEASED

Military authorities released Isma'il al-Afandi of Dheisheh refugee camp after he was held in detention for 22 days. Afandi, a student at Bethlehem University, was released after an Israeli military court in Ramallah refused to uphold a 6-month administrative detention order because it was not signed by Israel's top military commander in the occupied territories, general Amnon Shahak.

MEMORIAL FOR BZU STUDENT

A memorial ceremony was held in Bir Zeit University yesterday on the first anniversary of the martyrdom of student Sharif al-Talbi. The ceremony was attended by hundreds of students and representatives of national institutions, social committees and organizations.

Talbi was killed during a demonstration in support of the convening of the Palestine National Council in Jordan last year. He has been named as the "Martyr of the Independent Palestinian Decision."

November 22

ISLAMIC COUNCIL CONDEMNS JEWISH ATTEMPT TO PRAY AT AL-AQSA

The Supreme Islamic Council in Jerusalem condemned statements by the Commander of the Jerusalem police, Haim al-Balides, to the effect that the police will not prevent Jews from praying at Al-Aqsa Mosque. "The Muslims will confront the Jewish attempt to pray at al-Aqsa," said a statement by the council.



Jewish National Fund bulldozers uprooted 1600 dunums of olive and fig trees last week in Sur Baher village near Jerusalem in preparation for a planned forest reserve./AO photo.

November 24

UBAIDIYAH FARMERS TO GO ON TRIAL

Seven farmers from Ubaidiyah village in the Bethlehem area are to go on trial before an Israeli military court on charges of working on their land without permission from military authorities. They are accused of violating article 34 of the 1966 law of Organization of Cities, Villages and Buildings by opening a road blocked by authorities in preparation for establishing a new settlement.

LAND SLATED FOR CONFISCATION

A 130-dunum plot of land belonging to the village of Abassan, near Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip, was recently surveyed by Israeli military authorities in preparation for confiscation. Landowners who tried to resist the survey were detained.

GRENADE ATTACK INJURES 3 CHILDREN IN TULKARM

Three children were injured when a hand grenade was tossed at the Israeli income tax building in Tulkarm, military sources reported. The army closed off the area and clamped a curfew on the city, the sources said.

2 JABALYA MEN GET HEAVY SENTENCES

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Ahmad Abdel Qader Abu Libdeh, 21, of Jabalya refugee camp, to 18 years imprisonment on charges of membership in a Palestinian organization, carrying out hand grenade attacks and preparing explosive charges. One of the bombs he was allegedly preparing exploded in his hands.

Khalil Kamel Ilwan, 20, also from Jabalya, was sentenced by the same court to 7 years in prison and 3 years suspended on

charges of membership in a Palestinian organization and preparing petrol bombs.

JORDANIAN PASSPORTS FOR PALESTINIANS

Palestinian sources in Kuwait reported that 500,000 Jordanian passports are currently being prepared for Palestinians, especially those residing in the Gaza Strip. The sources, who were not identified, were quoted by the Kuwaiti *Al-Siyasa* newspaper as saying the Jordanian move follows pressure by the PLO.

3 PETROL BOMBS TOSSED AT BUS IN NABLUS

Three petrol bombs were tossed at an Israeli bus as it drove through the Rafidiyah neighbourhood in Nablus. No injuries or damage were reported.

RACISTS INCITE AGAINST BZU

Members of Meir Kahane's racist Kach movement handed out leaflets in the town of Bir Zeit inciting against Bir Zeit University. Israeli soldiers manning checkpoints in the area did not interfere.

November 25

BOMB DEFUSED IN PETAH TIKVA

A bomb was found and safely dismantled at the central bus station in Petah Tikva, Israel Radio reported. Police searched the area for other charges, but nothing was found, the radio said.

DEPORTATION OF ANOTHER RELEASED PRISONER

The military authorities rearrested Ahd Abd al-Majid Mahmoud, from Sidon village, Tulkarm. He had spent 17 years in prison. Though the High Court is considering his case, the authorities insist on deporting him.

HEBRON HOUSE LEVELLED

Israeli bulldozers tore down the home of Yusef Hamed Jaber, in Hebron, on the pretext that it had been built without a license. Jaber supports a family of 12.

November 26

NEW SETTLEMENT

A new settlement will be



Israeli authorities demolished the home of Yusef Hamed Jaber in Hebron outside Kiryat Arba settlement on the pretext it was built without a permit./AO photo.



Muslim scouts celebrate Prophet Muhammad's birthday with a march through Salah ed-Din Street in East Jerusalem November 25/AO photo.

established west of Hebron for the Ethiopian Jews, or Falashas, Israel Radio reported. It said the settlement will be called Natuniel.

They are also demanding better food and improved health conditions.

ABU DIS STUDENTS SUSPEND STUDIES

Students at Abu Dis College suspended studies in protest of the measures taken by the college administration which ignored their demands to form a student council. The administration has been trying to exert pressure on the students by forcing them to call their parents to the college.

PETROL BOMBS

A petrol bomb was thrown at the home of one of the residents in Balatta refugee camp, military sources said. They reported that another petrol bomb was thrown at an Arab-owned car as it passed the village of Azariya south of Jerusalem. In both cases there were no casualties.

DAMOUN PRISONERS ON HUNGER-STRIKE

Palestinian political prisoners at Damoun Prison near Haifa are continuing their hunger-strike for the 11th day to protest harsh conditions and maltreatment. The prisoners are demanding that they be provided with winter clothes and books and magazines.

HERDS IMPOUNDED IN SAMOU' AND DHARIYA

The Israeli authorities impounded 600 sheep owned by Dhariya resident Judeh Ahmad al-Batat and Abd al-Muhdi al-Salamin from Samou'. The sheep were confiscated in the Jordan Rift area and taken to the quarantine. The owners were fined JD4400.

which are considered by the Israeli authorities extreme call for equality and for coexistence after solving the Palestinian problem on a just basis. There are even Israelis who support this. Yonhanan Hoffman, head of the education department in Haifa, concluded after research into Arab and Jewish youths' attitudes that Arab youths have more readiness for coexistence between the two peoples than the Jewish youths do.

Al Fajr: You said that the Committee Against Racism includes liberal Jews besides anti-Zionist Jews. How do you assess the experience of the committee especially since it is the first time that liberal Jews take part in such a committee?

night attack. The attack motivated the formation of the Committee for the Salvation of Hassan Beq and the escalation of their struggle into an information campaign, involving press conferences and protest letters to Israeli circles.

Corruption

The controversy around Hassan Beq is but one example of the mistrust Muslims have for the Israeli-appointed trustees. Appointed Trustees Committees in Jaffa, like in the other Palestinian cities, have been used by the Israelis as an instrument to fulfill their plans. Sheikh Abu Zied who is vehemently against this policy, says that there are three considerations for the Israeli authorities in choosing members of these committees. First, collaboration with the Israeli authorities; second, belonging to a Zionist party; and third, ignorance and weakness of character.

Calendar of Events

Readers are invited to advertise events free of charge: Wednesdays are the deadline for publication in the next issue.

December 1, 2

Theater: *Shashouh*. A unique play performed by children from Jerusalem. Written and directed by Radi Shehadeh. At the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theater, Jerusalem, at 11.30 a.m. on December 1 and 2.30 p.m. on December 2. Telephone: 280957, 288189. In Arabic.

November 24 - December 15

Music: Marcel Khalife and Al-Mayadeen are doing a concert tour of the United States and Canada. All proceeds will go toward supplies and materials for hospitals and health facilities in south Lebanon, as well as toward rebuilding Palestinian refugee camps. The scheduled US dates are as follows: Dec. 6 - Portland, Oregon, Dec. 8 - Denver, Colorado, Dec. 13 - Washington, D.C., Dec. 14 - Boston, Dec. 15 - New York City. Readers should watch for further information in their areas regarding concert locations and times.

December 2

Lecture: Philip Bogdonoff will give a lecture entitled "Power and Nonviolent Struggle," at the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, third floor of the Nuzha building, 4:30 p.m. Telephone: 285061. In English, Arabic translation available.

December 4

Music: Organ recital by Prof. Edgar Krapp (Germany) with works by J.S. Bach. At the Dormition Abbey, Jerusalem, 8:30 p.m. Telephone: 719927.

December 5

Dabkeh: There will be dabkeh at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theater with the Silwan dabkeh troupe. Also participating will be three groups from Ramallah, Shufat and Jenin. Starting at 4:00 p.m.

Music: Homage to Bach with Elisabeth Roloff, organ, 8:30 p.m. at the Lutheran Redeemer Church, Jerusalem. Telephone: 282543.

December 6

Theater: *Who's Barren?* The Palestinian Theater Troupe will perform this play at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theater at 6:00 p.m. In Arabic.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

Theater: El-Hakawati Theater

Troupe is travelling to England to present *The Story of the Eye and the Tooth* at the Almeida Theater, Islington, London. All performances will be at 8:00 p.m. except for the premiere on December 2, which will be at 7:00 p.m. Telephone: (01) 3594404.

EVENTS IN THE US

December 4

Film: Benefit showing of *Beyond the Walls* 7:30 p.m. at the West End Circle Theater, Washington, D.C., followed by a discussion with the screenwriter, Benny Barash. Tickets are \$10 for the benefit of the Peace Now Education Fund. For further information call (202) 3878856.

December 6

Film: *Gaza Ghetto* will be shown at St. Stephen's Church, Washington, D.C. Donation - \$3.00. For further information ring the People's Anti-War Mobilization (Pam) at (202) 3325041.

December 7

Christmas Bazaar: At the American University, Washington, D.C. featuring Palestinian embroidered gifts and Arab pastries. Sponsored by the Palestine Aid Society (Najda). From 2:30-5:30 p.m.

December 11, 12

Film: Benefit showing of *The Mission* at 6, 8 and 10 p.m. at the Biograph Theater, Washington, D.C. Admission is \$5.00 for the benefit of Merip Reports.

mittee should struggle.

Al Fajr: Does this freeze mean stopping the struggle against racism?

Dweiri: No, it doesn't at all. As I have said, the Arab masses' struggle against racism and oppressive policy has not halted since the establishment of the state of Israel. For example, two weeks ago the Committee for the Defense of Land held a popular meeting against racism in which Jews and Arabs took part. So, the freeze of the Committee's activities does not mean the end of the struggle. The opposite. The Arab masses will be ready to encounter any challenge because they have decided to stay in their homeland at any price.

Anti-Racism

Continued from page 9

exercising an oppressive and racist policy against the remaining Palestinians under a democratic mask.

Al Fajr: What is your response to those who claim that there is racism on both sides?

Dweiri: There is no single organization or group among Arabs in Israel calling for the expulsion of the Jews from the country. All the Arab political parties

Dweiri: In fact the committee played an effective role in confronting Kahane from entering Arab villages and in breaking through the Jewish street. The first big achievement of the committee was the effective role which it played in preventing Kahane from entering Um al-Fahm last year, as well as Ksai and Tiabeh.

But recently, differences within the committee over the definition of racism have precipitated a freeze on the activities of the committee. Some of our liberal Jewish colleagues want to confine our struggle to the phenomenon of Kahanism and refuse to see the discrimination in budgets or in other fields as racism against which I believe the com-

Hassan

Continued from page 7

for the Salvation of Hassan Beq was formed to carry on the struggle for the liberation of the mosque. One of the members of the committee told Al Fajr that they don't recognize any deal concerning a lease because it was done by an appointed committee which does not represent the Muslims.

The first attempt to restore the mosque was aborted by Israeli authorities in 1982. They placed a police force around the mosque. The Muslim community leaders mobilized the people and raised donations from all over the country. A few months later Hassan Beq survived a destruction attempt. However, the beautiful minaret was blown off in a

The current six-month-old Trustees Committee was initiated by the Israeli authorities following the dissolution of the former committee, which was set up in 1978. Two of the members of the former committee resigned also over the issue of Hassan Beq and because of the "dictatorial conduct of the head of the committee, Abed Kaboub," said Sheikh Abu Zied. The Sheikh also resigned from this committee after a few months because all attempts at changing Abed Kaboub, who holds interest in the Israeli Dan Bus Company, met with the rejection of the Israeli officials.

Finally, personal differences between Kaboub and his Israeli bosses led to the dissolution of the committee, said Sheikh Abu Zied. Mutual charges were exchanged between Abed Kaboub and the former prime minister's Adviser for Arab Affairs, Gur Arieh, in the former closed government Arabic Al

Anba newspaper. Gur Arieh accused Kaboub of asking for IS\$5 million, while Kaboub said that Arieh offered him the same sum for his silence over the issue of the Hassan Beq Mosque. "This shows only the tip of the iceberg of corruption and the robberies carried out by the Israeli authorities through the puppet Trustees Committees," said the Sheikh. He added that this is why the Muslims don't trust the Trustees Committees. He said that the Consultative Council instead will continue the struggle against "all Israeli plans to take over the mosque and for the liberation of other holy Islamic places."

In Jaffa there are two mosques used by the Israelis. Al-Wihda Mosque was transformed into a Jewish synagogue, and al-Sikik Mosque is now a plastics factory. This is in addition to Abd al-Nabi cemetery on which a grand hotel was built in the 1950s.

Menachem Begin, former prime minister of Israel, was once quoted as telling President Reagan that he, Begin, would convince the US Congress of Israel's point of view, if Reagan simply took care of the executive branch. Israel's incredible ability to influence the US Congress is well known, yet it still remains a puzzling fact, bordering on mystery.

The extent to which Israel can favorably influence Congressional vote is the envy of those who seek the favor of the US government. For those unfamiliar with the way the American government works, it would come as a surprise that Israel has more influence over Congress than the US President, at least, when it comes to policy regarding the Palestinian-Israeli or the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel, in fact, is often appealed to by the executive branch to pacify Congress on issues believed to be important to the White House. It was recently reported that the White House asked Israeli officials to intervene with Congress regarding the White House wish to sell "defensive" weapons to Jordan; Israeli officials, on whose behalf Congress acts, didn't agree and the sale of arms to Jordan, having been promised to the king by Reagan, was "conditionally" pushed back to March of next year. The condition is that by the first of March 1986, Jordan should be engaged in direct negotiations with Israel to seek a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli question.

Israel's Long Arm

Many books and articles have been written about the power Israel possesses within the US Congress. The most recent book, *They Dare to Speak Out*, was written by Paul Findley, a congressman from Illinois. Findley, after 22 years in office, lost his seat in the US House of Representatives due to his stand on the Middle East.

On the cover of Findley's book are photos of US senators, congresspersons, journalists, armed forces personnel, Jewish leaders and a presidential candidate — Jesse Jackson — who have all lost out due to their "daring to speak out." There exists a perception in Congress, according to a State Department official, who asked not to be identified, that "out there, all over this country, the American people are fully in support of granting and doing for Israel whatever Israel wants." In politics however, he added, perceptions are just as good as reality. Although in this case, data which negated these perceptions is available for those who care to know. The unqualified and bipartisan support for Israel on Capitol Hill, others explain, is the result of a combination of factors.

A common and predominant belief held in the US is that the character of the state of Israel is similar to that of the US, and that it is the only state in the Middle East that shares those similarities with the US. Israel is seen as a friendly, democratic, vibrant and sacrificing state that "made something out of nothing." Others, of course, support Israel because they believe it is the fulfillment of biblical prophecy.

Another reason considered important for the unqualified American support of Israel, many members of Congress argue, is the commitment to Israel's security and well-being, made by all American presidents since the establishment of the Jewish state. Further, there are those who wrongly believe that a formal treaty binds the US and Israel. The Holocaust in Europe is another source of sympathy for Israel, which is basically the result of guilt feelings for what Christian Europe did to its Jewish citizens.

Cultural familiarity with Judaism



Protesters oppose Capitol Hill's support of Israel's policy in Lebanon.

Congress Passes More Bucks to Israel

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, D.C. Correspondent

also contributes to favoring Israel over the Arab countries in the Middle East. The last important reason for viewing Israel favorably, is a belief created by Israel's friends, both on Capitol Hill and throughout the country, that support for Israel is in fact support for America's strategic interests. Unprecedented US aid to Israel, specialists believe, automatically becomes synonymous with US strategic interests, and thus should be sufficient, in quantity and quality, to counter the Soviet "threat" to US strategic interests in that part of the world.

Weak Arab Lobby

The paralysis and inaction of Arab governments, it has long been argued, also contributes to Israel's increasing influence in this country. Those congresspersons who go along with whatever Israel wants are "rewarded" for it, providing an incentive for others to do the same. Arab lobbying efforts, on the other hand, are practically non-existent, and the few members of Congress, who "dare to speak out" lose out in the next elections just as in the case of Findley, Paul McCloskey and others.

An article in the *Washington Post* on November 4 of this year, reveals that the 70 pro-Israel Political Action Committees (PACs) distributed 3.5 million US dollars to incumbents and candidates in the 1984 congressional elections. Another article in the same paper, November 11, writes about an attempt by two other senators — Kasten, a Republican from Wisconsin, and Inouye, a Democrat from Hawaii — to lower the interest

rate on the Israeli debt to the US for the coming year, which would result in an additional "grant" of more than 530 million US dollars to Israel. A book published earlier this year, *Financing the Elections of 99th Congress: Pro-Israel PACs*, states that pro-Israel PACs "have quietly mustered more than 4.25 million US dollars for the 1984 American elections in favor of policies, appropriations and congressional candidates supportive of Israel."

A Worthy Investment

The best indication as to whether Israel's investment in the US Congress is a good one is to monitor the voting record of members of Congress on issues relating to Israel. A tally prepared by *The Mideast Observer* in Washington, reveals that Israel is reaping another bumper crop from its investment on Capitol Hill.

A look at how the US Senate voted in 1985 on issues in which Israel has an interest will tell the story. The issue of arms sales to the Arab world is especially opposed by Israel and its allies in the US. Even before an Arab request to purchase US arms reaches the floor of the Senate or the House, more than enough opposing signatures, from both houses, are handed to the media, deterring the White House from pushing the deal. This is assuming, of course, that the White House wants the sale to go through. With President Reagan having been re-elected by a landslide in November 1984, the Saudi government believed that the time was ripe for a new attempt to purchase arms necessary

for their defense. By the time the rumor reached the American public in January 1985, there were already the signatures of 68 out of 100 senators, stating their "deep concern (and) serious reservations" about the yet rumored sale. King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, who was on his way to visit the US, for the first time as king, learned of the American government's decision to "freeze" new arms sales to the region for close to six months, and eventually gave up on the US and purchased what he needed from Britain. The "freeze," it should be noted didn't include Israel.

Similarly, on June 4 of this year, before a formal announcement about the intention to sell arms to Jordan was made, 73 senators signed a resolution opposing the sale until there is "progress" in the peace process. Eventually, on October 24 before the deal was postponed until March '86, an initial group of 274 out of 435 members of the House of Representatives and 97 out of 98 senators had joined the opposition chorus. The one vote against the postponement was that of Senator Dodd of Connecticut, who wanted the deal killed altogether rather than postponed.

Due to the Democratic Party's control of the House of Representatives, the vote can be even more lopsided here than in the Senate. Before they submitted their 1986 budget to Congress, the Reagan Administration, and especially Secretary of State George Shultz, withheld the amount destined for Israel, and asked the government to put its economic house in order. Twenty-four out of 42 members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee wrote to Secretary Shultz warning him of the "undesirable results" which could be created as a consequence of his act. Soon after, Congress passed a resolution granting Israel 1.2 billion US dollars in economic aid and 1.8 billion US dollars in military aid, all in the form of grants or non-returnable funds.

In early May of this year, the House passed by 422 to 0, legislation which would remove all trade restrictions between the US and Israel in 10 years. This agreement is the first of its kind between the US and any other country. It will immediately remove all tariffs on 88 percent of Israeli imports into the US.

Similarly, Israel would abolish restrictions on imports from the US. By January 1995, all remaining restrictions would be phased out. The Senate, having approved the measure, urged its Finance Committee to indicate that this arrangement between Israel and the US would not become a precedent, not even to this country's two neighbors, Canada to the north and Mexico to the south. The intent behind this agreement was to help Israel's economy, even, as some labor leaders have argued, at the expense of American laborers.

American experts on the Middle East, while aware of the influence Israel possesses on Capitol Hill, argue against the common belief that the US Congress and government would treat the Middle East differently if there had not been an Israeli lobby. Most specialists in the workings of the American government know that the American president, with the weight and prestige he has, can, if he so decides, overrule the Congress simply by going directly to the American people. There are few times, if any, that the US president wanted legislation passed by Congress which was not passed. The problem, many Middle East experts believe, is to convince the US president that certain issues relating to the Middle East are important for US interests. This can be communicated clearly and unmistakably by the Arab governments, who for unknown reasons have opted not to do so.